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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulation ... 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages ... labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

Settler Kills Child in Nablus Bakery

Settlers shot dead an 11-year-old Nablus girl and wounded her nine-year-old sister in a downtown Nablus bakery, December 8. Israel Radio reported a settler from nearby Elon Moreh settlement was detained in connection with the assault. He was later released. According to an Israeli government press office translation, one of Israel's two Chief Rabbis said whoever killed the girl should not be treated as a murderer.

Aisheh Adnan Bahash, a sixth-grader, was shot three times in the back and died almost immediately. Her younger sister, Fida', the youngest in the eight-member family, is in satisfactory condition in Rafidiya Hospital after two operations to extract shrapnel from her mouth. The Bahash family say the children were shot inside the bakery shop where their father works on al-Hadadin street. The single-storey old-style building, located in a small alley off the main commercial Faysal Street, is still marked by a large bloodstain outside its door.

A relative, Ikhlas Ratrout, said the two girls had just brought a teapot to their father, who was baking bread, when the settler stood at the shop door and fired his Uzi submachinegun at them. Adnan Bahash, who was at that moment about to end his afternoon prayers, was not hit.

The father attempted to rush them to hospital on a hand-cart, but Aisheh died before he left the shop. "She asked for a drink of water before she passed away," her aunt said. Another relative reported the settler, wearing khaki pants, a striped shirt, a vest and a *kippa* (skullcap), fired several shots from his automatic Uzi gun and fled.

Aisheh Adnan Bahash, 11, and her sister Fida', 9. Aisheh was shot dead, December 8, by settlers in a Nablus bakery.

A blacksmith in the neighbourhood said that prior to the shooting, the entire area was closed and the streets emptied, at 4:30 pm, after soldiers raided a nearby labour union office's cultural exhibit and arrested several bystanders. The shopowner said that he and other owners shut their stores after young men, angered by the raid, began to throw stones at cars with Israeli license plates. According to *The Jerusalem Post*, the settler apparently was chasing some youths and he stopped at the bakery, the only open shop in the area. Eyewitnesses report he stood at the door and completely emptied his ammunition clip. Residents in the area say there was a second settler who stood at the end of the alley, opening onto Faysal Street, during the shooting.

After the incident, Israeli policemen closed off the area. Soldiers put the entire *Qasabeh* neighbourhood under curfew to preempt protest actions. For some time after the incident, a news blackout was imposed on the killing. The elected mayor of Nablus, Bassam Shaka'a, told *Al Fajr* that even though he was near the city centre at the time, he noticed nothing unusual. Shaka'a sent a telegramme to the UN Secretary General, Perez de Cuellar, urging him to take necessary measures to ensure the safety of Palestinian residents in the occupied territories.

In a similar incident last July, a still unidentified settler shot and killed a young Nablus woman and wounded her cousin as they were doing wedding shopping.

The Israeli government press office adds: "Sephardi Chief Rabbi Mordechai Eliahu, December 14, told residents of the (West Bank) settlement of Shilo that whoever it was who shot and killed an 11-year-old Arab girl in Nablus last week should not be treated as a murderer. In this context, Eliahu cited the Talmudic (Biblical commentary) passage which justifies killing in self-defence. Asked by local *yeshiva* students how they should react to stone-throwings, Eliahu replied that Israel was a country of law and order, with laws determined by those in charge; and the latter should be obeyed."

The girl was shot following clashes when Israeli troops raided and broke up a cultural exhibit organised by the Student Youth Movement, then underway at a Labour Union office in the city. Eleven people attending the exhibit were detained and several

continued on page 13

Woman Escapes Grenade Blast

3 Homes Booby-trapped in Husan

A booby-trapped Israeli Army hand grenade exploded on the doorstep of a Palestinian family in the village of Husan, west of Bethlehem, December 12. The explosion damaged the family's front door, but no one was injured. Two other bombs were found in a search of the village.

It was the most serious in a series of anti-Palestinian bomb attacks over the past two weeks.

An Israeli terror group, calling itself "Terror Against Terror" (TNT *Terror Neged Terror* in Hebrew), claimed responsibility for several of the attacks.

The Husan explosion occurred when Fatmeh Abu Shusheh opened the door of her home for the first time that morning. She said she was frightened by the noise of a falling object and quickly closed the iron door as the Israeli-made bomb exploded.

The blast ripped through the bottom of the door and shattered windows in the house. There were no injuries.

Israeli troops arrived in the village one hour after the explosion, the wife of the village *mukhtar* said. They discovered and safely detonated two more bombs, one placed on the doorstep of Ahmad Mustafa Sabatin's house and the second on the garage gate of Ali Rashid Hamamreh. Fatmeh Abu Shusheh told police investigators that she had heard a car near her home at around midnight but paid no attention to it.

The Jerusalem Post reported, December 13, that the safety pins had been removed from the grenades and their timing hammers were held shut by a pile of stones. Israel Radio said no one claimed responsibility for the attacks. Other Israeli sources said the grenades were primed in the same way as others discovered three days earlier in Jerusalem.

OTHER TARGETS

Five hand grenades were discovered, December 9, outside three Christian and one Muslim religious institution in Jerusalem.

Two grenades were found on the steps of the Franciscan Monastery, one outside the Greek Orthodox Seminary and a fourth was attached to a door handle in the same building. The fifth was found near the mosque in Beit Safafa, an Arab village partially occupied by Israelis. Israeli police said they discovered a sixth grenade in a parking lot in the Jewish Quarter in the Old City. This grenade was found with its safety pin in place. Police said it had probably been dropped by mistake.

All the grenades were of Israeli Army issue and came from the same numbered series, police sources said.

Israeli police sources quoted by *The Jerusalem Post* said all

continued on page 13

Patrol Kills Farmer in Tayasir Ploughfield

Israeli soldiers shot and killed a Palestinian resident from the village of Tayasir, northwest of Nablus, December 12, as he tried to run away from them.

Dhib Mahmoud Daba'ak, 38, father of eight children, was ploughing his fields when a military patrol approached him, local sources told *Al Fajr*. Locals say he was apparently frightened by the approaching soldiers and began to run away. The soldiers opened fire at him after shouting for him to stop running. He was killed instantly.

An Israeli military helicopter flew the body to Abu Kbir Autopsy Hospital in Jaffa.

The village of Tayasir is the easternmost village in the West Bank. Two years ago the village was the scene of clashes between a Palestinian commando unit which crossed from Jordan. Several Israeli soldiers were killed in the clash.

An Israeli Army spokesperson announced the same day that Daba'ak had been killed by stray bullets while riding his horse across an Israeli Army firing range in the area. Mourning notices placed in the local Arabic press by the dead man's family confirmed the villagers' version of events.

IN THIS ISSUE

Lebanon: north, south and the mountains p.2
West Bank under attack p.3
Teachers Day p.4
Italians sliding out of Lebanon p.5
"Coexistance" in Jaffa p.7
Roads for Jews, roads for Arabs ..... pp.8&9
The power duel p.11
USA and the PLO p.13
Demolished homes p.16

Lebanese and Palestinian women turn to public opinion as their only hope for pressure on the Gemayel regime to return their lost sons, husbands and fathers. Several thousand men have simply disappeared – either arrested, kidnapped or killed in Phalangist sweeps against Palestinians and nationalist Lebanese. Women demonstrate daily outside human rights organisation offices in Beirut. This woman appeals for word of her four sons in a demonstration near the Islamic Institute, this week.

IN LEBANON

From desaparecidos to Despair

ROME– For the "Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo" the nightmare may be over. With the return to democracy in Argentina, the homecoming, or at least the identification of the tragic fate of tens of thousands of those who disappeared before the death squads of the bloody military dictatorship, seems imminent. Not so for thousands of mothers, daughters and wives in Beirut, hundreds of whom demonstrated, December 9, in the Lebanese capital demanding news of members of their families who have been kidnapped by the Phalangist militias or arrested by the Gemayel regime's secret police and military organs over the past 16 months.

White scarves on their heads, carrying photos of their *desaparecidos* – some women had as many as four or five photos, some of very young boys – pinned to their dresses, these Palestinian and Lebanese women are also asking for truth and justice and pressure by public opinion to redeem their dear ones from the torture cells and secret dungeons presided over by the various members of the Gemayel clan.

Meanwhile, the so-called Mixed Security Committee, established after the signing of the September cease-fire agreement, which was entrusted, among other things, with the negotiation for the liberation of prisoners and kidnapped hostages, has ceased to function. It dissolved last week, when Amal representatives withdrew following the kidnapping of a group of Shi'ite militants by Phalangist militiamen mounting a checkpoint on the coastal road south of Damour. According to Amal sources, among the kidnapped there are several recently released Ansar prisoners. The reluctance of both the Phalangist and the Lebanese Army representatives on the security committee to deal with the matter and work to liberate the kidnapped – despite the unilateral release by Amal of Phalangist militiamen taken hostage at the airport following the episode – may spell the committee's end.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 189, December 16, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to censor	38
Number of articles totally censored out	7
Number of articles returned	1
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	2
Number of articles partially censored but used	4
Number of articles passed	24

US Gunboats Bombard Lebanese Mountains

by Livia Rokach

US ships opened fire, on the afternoon of December 13, on Lebanese resistance and Syrian positions in the Lebanese mountains, stepping up the escalation of war operations on all the fronts in Lebanon and underscoring the decreasing chances for negotiated solutions to the conflict in the present phase.

John Stewart, US Embassy spokesperson in Beirut, admitted the naval shelling after several attempted denials. According to local radio correspondents, US shells hit the Druze village of Dhour Shweir.

According to the spokesperson, the shelling, which he denied came from the USS New Jersey, was "a retaliation for earlier attacks on US planes flying reconnaissance missions over the mountains." Defensive ground-to-air missiles had been launched against the US F-14 Tomcats without hitting them. The naval shelling once more conforms to Washington's doctrine, which deprives the attacked of the right to self-defence while attributing to itself the "divine right" to aggression everywhere, at all times. But observers in Beirut believe that the escalating American intervention is meant above all to encourage the Lebanese Army to invade the resistance-controlled mountain areas, in accordance with demands voiced by Reagan to President Amin Gemayel during his visit earlier this month to Washington.

Meanwhile Gemayel quickly ended his fake attempt to constitute a "national unity" government, informing Prime Minister Shafik Wazzan that his resignation, handed in on September 28, was rejected. Preparations for the US-supported counter-offensive by the Gemayel clan regime are perceivable also on other levels. The council of the Lebanese Catholic Patriarchs and Bishops issued, December 8, a nine-point document which indirectly but very clearly implies full support for Phalangist hegemonic designs over all Lebanon. Among others, the council demands the right to vote and "participation in the country's political life" for the 3.5 million Lebanese who emigrated over the years. Two-thirds of Lebanese emigres are Christians.

The only semblance of a cease-fire still existing in Lebanon is that determined by the heavy rain and snowfalls. This week they often interrupted the otherwise intense fighting in and around Souq al-Gharb in the Shouf between Progressive Socialist Party forces and the Lebanese Army and in the Iqlim al-Kharub areas between national resistance forces and Phalangist militias, protected and supported by the Israeli Army. The level of the resistance actions against the occupation in the areas south of the Awali River and in the west Beqa'a valley remained at record levels of two to three attacks a day against occupation convoys and patrols.

A recent communique from the Lebanese National Resistance Front lists 25 military operations carried out through the month of October against occupation forces convoys and patrols, which caused 46 casualties – between dead and wounded – to the attacked forces and destroyed a large amount of military materials.

Two French Paras Killed in New Beirut Clashes

One French officer and three Lebanese soldiers were killed on the night of December 14, during an exchange of fire with members of the Shi'ite Amal militia in the southern suburbs of Beirut.

A second French paratrooper was killed by sniper fire, Thursday, December 15, as he was doing guard duty at the headquarters of the French unit of the multinational forces in Lebanon.

According to Radio Monte Carlo, the soldier was attacked by unidentified gunmen who drove by in a speeding car. The radio report said that he was the 81st French paratrooper to die since the French contingent arrived in Lebanon in September 1982.

Israel's Death Toll Rises as S. Lebanon Clashes Continue

One Israeli soldier was killed and three others wounded in two separate bomb attacks in Sidon, December 10 and 13, raising the number of Israeli casualties in the ongoing Lebanon war to 560 dead and 3172 wounded.

Israeli troops, using reinforced security measures to minimise casualties, clashed with Lebanese civilians, December 11, during a search of the village of Kfar Melke. At least five civilians were shot.

Private Shlomo Alfasi, 19, died instantly when a remote-controlled bomb exploded underneath two armoured personnel carriers moving south of Sidon. An Israeli Army spokesperson said the patrol opened fire in the direction of the attacking commandos. Following this incident, Israeli troops and Sa'ad Haddad militiamen began a massive show-of-force search. On the second day, Israeli troops encountered protests when they entered the village of Kfar Melke, 10 kilometres southeast of Sidon. According to *The Jerusalem Post*, December 12, a military patrol was stopped from searching residents by a mob. The soldiers fired in the air, summoned reinforcements and scattered the crowd. Five villagers were reported wounded by gunfire and several were arrested.

Anti-occupation resistance struck again on December 13, when a bomb went off in the centre of Sidon, wounding two soldiers on patrol. A third Israeli, a truck driver, was wounded the same day by a hand grenade thrown at his truck south of the Zahrani River. All the injured were taken to a Haifa hospital for treatment.

Other military attacks, according to an Israeli military spokesperson, caused no casualties. A military patrol came under light arms fire in Nabatiya, in South Lebanon, December 12. On December 13, a hand grenade was thrown at an Israeli patrol in Sidon.

Israeli military correspondents report that their army is facing increasing attacks, especially in the large population centres of Nabitiya and Sidon. Reporters say that military attacks are being launched from abandoned or unfinished houses and orchards.

Israeli occupation forces in south Lebanon recalled 2000 former Ansar prisoners December 12 and warned them not to carry out any military operations, according to Monte Carlo radio. Israel Radio confirmed the report but said that the number was in the hundreds.

Livia Rokach adds:

According to local correspondents of the official Lebanese Radio, the occupation forces wounded five civilians when they opened fire on a crowd of several hundred who threw stones at them. Dozens of inhabitants were arrested. The entire village population then barricaded itself inside the mosque and refused to leave it until there was a complete withdrawal of the military. The conflict, which started on Sunday morning, was still underway, December 12.

PLO Pullout Imminent as Greeks Get Guarantees

The evacuation of PLO fighters from the north Lebanese port city of Tripoli will start December 17. Paris-based Monte Carlo Radio reported, December 15, a Greek government statement that it has received the guarantees it required before sending in ships to carry the more than 4000 Palestinian fighters and their leaders.

The Greek spokesperson said four ships will arrive in Tripoli, December 17, to start evacuating the fighters. The Greeks had postponed sending

continued on page 13

Torched al-Thowri cars following night raid by Israeli vigilantes. A Israeli group calling itself "Terror Against Terror" claimed responsibility for the attack which left three vehicles completely destroyed. The al-Thowri raid was only one of many Israeli settler and vigilante terror attacks aimed at Palestinians this week.

Nablus Centre in Week of West Bank Clashes

Nablus was repeatedly curfewed, last week, following repeated clashes between Israeli settlers, troops and local residents.

The centre of the city was curfewed for 24 hours, December 7, after a hand grenade was thrown at an Israeli patrol. It failed to explode. Askar refugee camp, near Nablus, was also curfewed for a day after a Molotov was thrown at an Israeli vehicle.

Further south, at Jalazon refugee camp outside Ramallah, residents reported that settlers have recently joined the army in imposing curfews and shooting up the camp.

Nablus was curfewed again, December 8, after the shooting of Aisheh Bahash (see front page story). A grenade was thrown at a military vehicle the same day.

A bus travelling to Kiryat Arba settlement was reported stoned outside Hebron, December 8. Earlier in the day, settlers drove Yatta farmers from their fields.

Local papers said soldiers spent all day chasing Palestinian children, December 9, after a series of stone-throwing incidents. No arrests were reported.

Two Israeli buses were damaged, December 11. A Kiryat Arba settler was reported hurt when a bus on which he was travelling came under a hail of stones outside Dheisheh refugee camp, near Bethlehem.

In al-Bireh, a police bus was reportedly undamaged in a Molotov attack. Nablus street in the town was closed by the military, the next day, in retaliation.

The wholesale vegetable market in Nablus was reopened, December 13, after being closed for two weeks following the stabbing of a settler. The next day Balata refugee camp, near the market, was curfewed after unidentified people opened fire on a local resident. All men aged 16-60 were publicly interrogated in the camp's main square.

Al-Bireh Schoolboys Drive Out Elia

"The Israeli military government closed al-Hashimiya Secondary School, in al-Bireh, December 9, for one month. Two teachers were arrested and dozens of students participants in a sit-in demonstration the day before against a visit to the school by the head of the 'civil administration', Shlomo Elia, and the military-appointed mayor of al-Bireh to attend the inauguration ceremonies of the new school building.

"Construction on the new school was financed by the municipality and started when the previously dismissed town council under Abd al-Jawad Saleh was in office. The Israeli government tried to delay completion of the building over the past several years and then decided to move the secondary school away from the centre of town. Students were moved to the school this year, even before the building was completed.

"The school has no doors or windows and is still without electricity, laboratories or a soccer field, and its unsurfaced playgrouds are muddy most of the winter." (Translation: Al Talia, December 15, 1983).

"Ramallah area school principals and administrators held a sit-in at the Ramallah education department offices in support of the teachers and students from Hashimiya school in al-Bireh who are detained in Israeli prisons. The protestors sent a message to the Israeli military officer in charge of West Bank education." (Translation: Al Fajr, December 15, 1983).

Military Camp Uses Private Land

Israeli soldiers expanded the western edges of their military camp in Beit Sahour, December 9, two months after the land in 'Ush al-Ghurab, which is owned by Beit Sahour residents, was grabbed.

At early morning Palestinian residents living near the camp witnessed Israeli soldiers erecting a barbed wire and barrel fence around a five-dunum plot owned by Iskandar Badra. The land is part of 250 dunums of land in 'Ush al-Ghurab confiscated, October 7, by Israeli authorities for military purposes. The order, given to Mayor Hanna Atrash and signed by Uri Orr, military commander of the West Bank, did not specify the number of dunums involved. *Mukhtar* Elias Khair told *Al Fajr* that the land is a hilly, agricultural area planted with fruit trees and wheat.

Mayor Atrash told *Al Fajr* that the municipality was in no legal position to oppose the confiscation order because the land is

Soldiers Close Off BU Dance Festival

Studies at Bethlehem University were disrupted, December 12, after Israeli soldiers surrounded the campus and set up two roadblocks to prevent students and teachers from entering. There were no arrests.

The roadblocks were set up at 9:30 am, and guests as well as students and teachers were barred, university sources said. On campus, students already inside were celebrating the annual *dabkeh* and song festival.

After the roadblocks were established, Anton Sansour, executive vice president of the university, was summoned to the local military headquarters and told the university would be closed if the students continued to hold festivals, university sources said.

Mohammed Manasra, the secretary of the students council, told *Al Fajr*: "It is a normal festival we hold every year. It seems the Israeli authorities want to prevent any festival in the university." Manasra predicted that the authorities would have closed the school if it were not for the proximity to Christmas.

In November, Bethlehem University was closed for two months after a series of student protests against the detention of students council members. It was prematurely reopened, December 5, following meetings between Israeli and university officials.

Najah Checkposted, Half Semester Lost

"Checkpoints were set up, December 12, at Najah University entrances preventing teachers, employees and students from entering, completely disrupting studies there.

"Najah students have so far missed almost half their school days this semester because of continuous harassment of students and teachers at checkposts, preventing students and teachers from reaching campus." Translation: Al Talia, December 15, 1983).

Three Reports on Human Rights

The Ramallah-based Law in the Service of Man, the West Bank affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists, in Geneva, published a reply, December 12, to the 1982 US State Department report on Israel's human rights record. LSM accused the US report of not providing an accurate picture of the human rights situation here and redressed the American version on a section-by-section basis.

In addition to the LSM report, two Israeli reports dealing with human rights in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip have also appeared recently. The Tel Aviv-based International Centre for Peace in the Middle East published a report on the human rights situation in the occupied territories for the years 1979-1983.

The West Bank Data Base Project, headed by ex-Jerusalem deputy mayor Meron Benvenisti, published, last week, a report on Israeli censorship in the occupied territories sponsored by the US Fund For Free Expression.

UNRWA Protests Kalandia Closures

UNRWA sent a written protest to the Israeli authorities in the West Bank over the closing of an Agency school and a training centre in Kalandia, according to the latest issue of the organisation's bulletin, *UNRWA News*. They were ordered closed for one month, November 1, after stone-throwing incidents. The closures affect 1400 students.

Commenting on the incident during a meeting of the General Assembly's Special Political Committee, in New York, UNRWA Commissioner-General Olof Rydbeck said, "I cannot accept that closure of the school and training centre, affecting the education of all who attend them, is justified or appropriate, and I recall that on the day of the alleged incident in question there were only 10 trainees at the Kalandia Training Centre."

Numerous incidents of curfews have interrupted UNRWA services in the West Bank recently. In addition, the Israeli authorities have told UNRWA to close the girls and boys schools at Jalazon camp, north of Ramallah, for one month, as of November 15, due to protest actions. The schools have 1268 pupils. UNRWA is discussing the closure with the authorities.

Jenin Worker Murdered

Abdallah Ahmad Musa, 40, from Bir al-Basha, a suburb of Jenin, was found dead, December 13. He was lying in a pool of blood at a steel factory near Acre, where he was employed. The corpse was taken to Abu Kbir Autopsy Hospital, in Tel Aviv, for post mortem.

His family say they fear he was killed by Israeli vigilantes.

Teachers Festival

One hundred teachers from various West Bank schools were honoured, December 14, at a festival to mark National Teachers Day organised by the General Committee of Government School Teachers at Ittihad Nisa'i School, in Jerusalem. Over 250 teachers attended the festival.

Al Talia *weekly published in its December 15 issue:*

"Imad Sulh spoke at the rally about the problems teachers face and insisted that teachers continue the struggle to improve the academic quality for the young generations.

"Ma'amoun Sayyed, former editor of *Al Fajr*, explained the problems of education in the occupied territories in the absence of a national government."

"At the end of the festival, 100 teachers were awarded hand-carved shields for their efforts in educating the young generation."

The Abu Sneineh family who fled harassment at the hands of Jerusalem settler-students and now live in Hebron. The 14-member family lives in one room and a tent donated by the Red Cross./AO photo

Ofra Grows at Ain Yabroud Expense

Israeli settlers expanded Ofra settlement last week by clearing cultivated land next to the settlement belonging to Palestinian residents of Ain Yabroud village, north of Ramallah, and installing prefabricated houses.

The settlers' action implemented a 1981 military confiscation order affecting over 20 landowners from Ain Yabroud. At the time, the villagers were told they could obtain compensation from the military's custodian of absentee property. However, none of the villagers relinquished legal rights to their land except Rizeq Mahmoud Yahya Jabra, who sold his father's 57-dunum plot to Israelis in 1982.

Ahmad Mohammed Hussein Jabra, whose 10 dunums were confiscated two years ago, told *Al Fajr* that settlers began expansion work two weeks ago on the Gush Emunim settlement by adding prefabricated buildings. Jabra said his land had been planted with olive, fig and almond trees and vineyards. Another resident from the village, Yusef Abd al-Jawad Jabra, who lost four dunums, said the settlers began only this year to implement the confiscation orders.

Ofra settlement was established in 1977 on the site of a Jordanian military camp. Settlers have continued to seize privately owned land since then, destroying over 200 dunums of cultivation and fencing in several dunums of fruit trees.

Land Greed Pushes Cemetery Expansion

The Hebrew daily *Davar* reported that 290 dunums of land between the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem and the Israeli settlement Ma'ale Adumim will be allocated to build a cemetery "which would solve the problem of burial-sites in Jerusalem."

The paper explained that land will have to be expropriated for this purpose from Arabs. "One of the legitimate means to control an area is building a cemetery," wrote *Davar*, quoting an official source.

In 1968, there was a plan to expand the cemetery in the Mount of Olives, "which required at that time the confiscation of hundreds of dunums."

The paper added that due to fear of public opposition, the plan was not implemented and that now the plan which is accepted by Jerusalem municipality, the ministerial committee for Jerusalem affairs and the religious affairs ministry is ready for official approval.

Davar learned that over time the Kadisha Company purchased land in the area, "but despite this there will be a need for the confiscation of a large area." (Translation: Davar, December 11, 1983).

IN GAZA

New Health Centre

The Director of UNRWA operations in Gaza, Peter Hawkins, inaugurated a new health centre at Maghazi camp, in Gaza, in a ceremony November 3.

In his opening address, Hawkins listed some of the recent improvements in the health services provided to refugees in Gaza, such as the opening of five new health sub-centres, two new dental clinics, the pathway and drain programme and the upgrading of the school health and health education programmes.

The ceremony was attended by senior staff from the field office and staff of the new Maghazi Health Centre.

Yeshiva Thugs in Old City Ignore Demolition Order

A state of uncertainty and confusion surrounds the fate of a troublesome Jewish religious school in the Aqbat al-Khaldiya quarter in Jerusalem. Israeli police remanded, December 13, Abraham Dwek, the reported patron of the Birkat Avraham *Yeshiva*, for ignoring police orders to stop construction on and demolish an illegal third-floor. Police reinforcements moved into the Old City, the next day, awaiting orders to demolish the illegal structure.

Students, many of them former criminals, struck back by attempting to take over rooms belonging to neighbours.

The Jerusalem municipal court ordered, November 29, an end to the work on the additional room. Jerusalem police confirm that building continued and that notices ordering students to tear down the illegal room were ignored. When municipal workers went to Aqbat al-Khaldiya, December 10, to destroy the illegal room, they were unable to get in because the Jewish students had closed the outside iron door. The iron door also leads to the home of the Abu Sneineh family, who had left their house because of the increased harassment from *yeshiva* students.

Dib Abu Sneineh, who works for the municipality as a gardener, told *Al Fajr*, "We could not bear the living situation any more, especially after our neighbour, Fatmeh Mialeh, was permanently hospitalised after the students beat her up." Abu Snieneh said the 14-member family moved to Hebron after pressure from relatives who were afraid for their lives. In Hebron, the family lives in one room plus a tent donated by the Red Cross.

Dib's father, Mohammed Abu Sneineh, vehemently denied, December 13, a report in *The Jerusalem Post* that he had sold his house. *HaAretz* made a similar report. "My furniture is still in my house, and if I wanted to sell my house I wouldn't be living in a tent," he told *Al Fajr*. The older Abu Sneineh says he intends to sue *The Jerusalem Post* and *HaAretz* for libel. He is also very critical of the Jerusalem police, municipality and *waqf* officials, who have not helped him, he says.

Jerusalem police and municipal officials held a press conference in front of the *yeshiva*, December 14, and told reporters that the illegally built room will be destroyed as soon as the courts finish hearing lawyers' objections.

Despite the presence of police, municipal officials and journalists, no one was able to get through the iron door the *yeshiva* students had built across the entrance to both their school and the Abu Sneineh family home. Abu Sneineh says he usually asks for police protection when he vists his house.

Last week the municipality said it wanted the Birkat Avraham *yeshiva* out of the Old City. Local residents, however, remain sceptical the Israeli officials will do it.

Abdallah Ghazali explained that the religious school has been a source of trouble to the whole neighbourhood. Ghazali says that the students have non-religious aims. "The students are ex-prisoners who are addicted to drugs and alcohol," he claimed.

Old City residents are trying to remind West Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek that he promised to remove the *yeshiva* if he won the elections.

Last week, four Palestinians were hospitalised after two separate attacks by settlers from Birkat Avraham.

US Media Cites Local Condemnation of Bus Attack

Both major American papers, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, cited the statement signed by West Bank Palestinian personalities critical of the bombing of the bus in West Jerusalem, *Al Fajr* Washington DC Correspondent Ghassan Bishara reports. Spokesperson Allen Romberg said the State Department had taken note of the statement. He praised it as a courageous step and said he hoped it contributes to an improved atmosphere in the occupied territories.

The Washington Post said the step was "the first of its kind" and reported that Shamir said it revealed a "positive trend" in West Bank Palestinian-Israeli relations. *The Post*, December 9, described the signatories as "prominent Palestinians" who "represented a broad spectrum of West Bank opinion, from the strongly pro-PLO (Karim) Khalaf (dismissed mayor of Ramallah) to (Jerusalem Electricity Company Chairman Anwar) Nusseibeh, with close ties to Jordan." *Al Fajr*, whose Editor-in-Chief Hanna Siniora and publisher Paul Ajlouny both signed the statement, is described in the article as a paper "with strong ties to the main Fatah faction of the Palestine Liberation Organisation headed by Yasir Arafat."

The Dawn

AL FAJR

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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CONTROLLED CHAOS

The week's events: An Israeli stopped at the door of a small bakery in Nablus, December 8, and fired into it, killing the baker's 11-year-old daughter, Aisheh al-Bahash, and wounding her sister, Fida', 9, in the face. Cars owned by Palestinians were arsoned, December 9, in a nighttime operation in a Jerusalem suburb. At least six bombs were uncovered in front of churches and mosques in Jerusalem. A 38-year-old farmer was killed by a soldier in Tayasir village, north of Nablus. Six houses in Hebron and Ramallah areas were demolished or sealed by the military authorities. One bomb exploded in Husan village as a woman opened her front door, and two other ready-to-trigger grenades were dismantled. These are the crimes reported within one week in the occupied West Bank. There are probably more unreported incidents. This is serious but small-scale crime and represents only one front of many that the enemies of the Palestinian people are targetting.

In the northern Lebanese town of Tripoli, the Israeli-US war machine is trying to behead the vanguard of the Palestinian people and its legitimate leadership, in an attempt to kill Palestinian rights with bullets and shells.

The US is using increasingly larger weaponry elsewhere in Lebanon to protect its spy planes, war-role and bluster image. The battleship New Jersey was put in use this week – the first time since Vietnam – and Reagan tempered American anxiety over *deja vu* by hinting that if chaos takes over in Lebanon, the US will get out. Meanwhile controlled chaos serves its purpose.

Israeli Interior and Police Minister Yosef Burg appears just as calm in the face of rising terror in the West Bank. In an interview with Israel Radio, he scoffed at the idea of Israelis being behind the latest local anti-Palestinian attacks. Even when an Israeli terror group claimed responsibility for planting Israeli-made bombs in Palestinian towns, Burg publicly doubted even the existence of such a group.

Perhaps only when battleships fire into the West Bank will we know who is responsible. Meanwhile carefully controlled chaos is king.

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Italian MNF to Slide Out of Lebanon

by Livia Rokach
Our Rome Correspondent

ROME – DECEMBER 13: US Secretary of State George Schultz and his faithful spokesmen, such as Bernard Gwertzman of *The New York Times*, may continue to say that America's allies "agree to stay in Lebanon indefinitely" in support of the Gemayel regime; Congress and the US public need to be reassured so that the Reagan administration can keep its military expedition force in Beirut and offshore. The fact is, however, that the Italian contingent of the multinational forces is definitely on its way out of Lebanon. Consequently, the last shreds of the "peace mission" fig leaf, originally stamped onto the MNF to cover NATO's naked interventionist goals in the Middle East, are now dissolving like snow in the sun.

In a first phase, the Italian force, now numbering over 2500 men, will be reduced by over half, to 1000, within the next two weeks. In a second phase, immediately following, the remaining units will not be replaced at the end of their nearly completed four-month term in Lebanon.

Only the presence of units specialised in "humanitarian activities" will be guaranteed. This means that the military field hospital, today practically the only health service in the Sabra-Shatila area capable of giving skilled emergency medical aid to the local Palestinian and Shi'ite populations, will continue to function, at least for several months. This week the hospital, as if to underline its continued presence, began a new service – dental examination and treatment for the Palestinian camp children in the local UNRWA schools. Presumably a symbolic garrison to provide safety for the hospital and perhaps guarantee a minimum deterrent around what remains of the Palestinian camps, will also stay in place.

The Italian government's decision to gradually but surely withdraw the contingent, taken in its meeting of December 7, reportedly caused unprecedented irritation when communicated, two days later, to the other MNF foreign ministers during the NATO council meeting in Brussels. The decision also commits Rome to work toward a replacement of the entire MNF with UN peace troops, although such an initiative is considered to have little chance of success.

The decision to withdraw the Italian force from Beirut was reached following months of growing public opposition. More recently, an increasingly larger coalition of political movements and parties objects to the maintenance of troops in Lebanon in a situation which threatens to involve this country in a war which most Italians associate with the shadowy memories of past fascist undertakings and present nightmares of East-West confrontation. The French air strike at Ba'albek on November 17 and the US air bombings of central and eastern Lebanon, December 4, were in fact the straws which broke the camel's back. This extended the opposition to the continued presence in Beirut also to the decision-making centres of the major governmental parties – the Christian Democrats, the Socialists and even the right wing Liberals. It left in splendid minority isolation the only governmental protagonists of supporting-at-all-costs "the duty of solidarity with our allies": chiefly, Defence Minister Giovanni Spadolini, whose Republican Party – consisting of the most militant pro-American and pro-Zionist lobby – represents no more than five percent of the national vote, and the no less fanatic lobby nor much bigger Social Democrats.

The fear that the Italian troops, despite their wish and their strict neutrality – in contrast with the US and French behaviour – may get caught in the fighting, was a major argument in favour of the withdrawal. In contrast with other countries, funerals of young people sent to foreign lands to defend "the free world" are not a prescription for a long life for any government here. But the political motivations used by old allies of US administrations as the Italian Christian Democrats or more recent ones, such as Prime Minister Bettino Craxi's Socialists, to decide the withdrawal are highly significant: they indicate profound unease and dissent in respect to both American and French evaluations of the Lebanese situation. By saying that "in no case can the Italian contingent be involved in belligerent situations nor be exposed to the consequences of acts of war initiated by others" and by stating that "the Lebanese situation is today profoundly modified in comparison to the conditions which prevailed at the time of the decision to send the force to Beirut," these political forces, and consequently the government, clearly reject the basic US conception of an East-West confrontation in Lebanon which necessitates *per force* Western military solidarity. It also rejects France's total support for Gemayel's regime as the only legitimate expression of a Lebanese "national unity," existent only in Mitterand's wishful fantasies.

It is probable that in making these decisions, the Italian policy-makers were hoping for similar moves on Britain's part, in homage to the idea of British parliamentary tradition and the fact that a majority in the House of Commons is known to share Italian reservations. The fact that the Iron Lady did not seem to share such illusions in regard to democracy in England was of little effect, however, because the British contingent in Beirut is known to be at most a symbolic affair, composed of "80 or so athletic youngsters," as the Italian press sardonically describes them.

All this said, however, it must also be stated that on the political level the Italian withdrawal will not be carried out in the honourable way that the contingent has come to deserve through the 15 months of its effective peace mission in Beirut. For decades, the Italian ruling establishment represented the most servile of all Washington's allies. It would have been naive to think that the same establishment could publicly announce the existence of a crisis in the "sharing of common views and goals" with Washington in Lebanon. It is in its nature that it should – almost by conditioned reflex – cover up both the process of the troop withdrawal and the US and French denials of dissidence within what was the MNF with cautious, ambiguous and Byzantine formulations. Thus, instead of proudly admitting a conflict of interests which in fact exists not only in Lebanon but on every level of Middle East policies – a dissidence brought into the open by the effectiveness of the Lebanese national resistance and its allies in the region – the Italian troops will be made to leave Beirut almost secretly. Already, in tandem with Shultz and French Foreign Minister Cheysson's deliberately misleading statements in Brussels last week about the "non-reduction" of the MNF, the Italian command post in Beirut was made – for the first time in 15 months – to declare itself out of bounds to the press. The big board in the meeting room which tallied the number of the Italian troops present, well in everyone's view, has been removed and transformed into classified material.

It also seems evident that on the operational level there will be efforts on behalf of some parties to delay and hinder the evacuation as much as possible. But the facts are by now established. Not accidentally, it would seem, just a few hours after the Italian Cabinet's decision on the withdrawal, Premier Bettino Craxi received a message from Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, in which Italy's "constructive and peaceful role" was highly praised and the hope expressed for new Italian initiatives which would "contribute to improve the conditions for a resumption of dialogue and negotiations." Similar hopes were expressed in a message by Lebanese nationalist leader Walid Jumblatt a day later. And perhaps, after all, this is what counts most: facts such as the withdrawal of the military presence from the Lebanese conflict, and that Syria remains Italy's first commercial partner in the Middle East, and that Italy has nothing to gain, and probably much to lose, from strategic alliances like the one signed by Reagan and Israeli Prime Minister Shamir in Washington this month.

OPINION

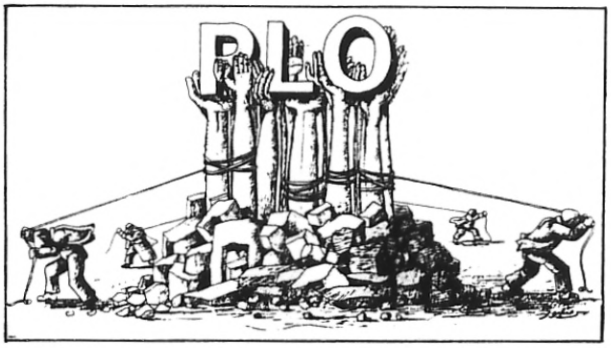
AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

No Alternative to the PLO

Commenting on the statement by five Palestinian personalities in the occupied territories on the Jerusalem bus explosion last Tuesday, some Western news media alleged that these personalities constitute a nucleus for an alternative leadership to the PLO.

It is odd that Western papers attempt to give such a description to these five personalities who confirmed their resolute and public position towards the PLO and its legitimate leadership on more than one occasion. They also confirmed this through confronting the split streams and the attempts to circumvent the PLO and form weak alternatives.

The explanation the Western media gave for the statement indicates political immaturity and short-sightedness. This statement is in reality the crux of the PLO position. If we assume there was a difference in opinion, this difference is in itself a healthy phenomenon and proof that we breathe through more than one lung. In no way does it mean the adoption of a policy different from the political line of the PLO.



In short, these predictions by the Western media are either intended to serve as propaganda, taking advantage of the situation the PLO is in now, or were made out of naivete.

The Palestinian people everywhere have always made it clear that the PLO is the only party capable of representing them and helping them regain their national rights to self-determination and setting up an independent state on the national soil. Any attempt to question this fact is doomed to failure.

AL FAJR
December 12

Educational Dilemmas

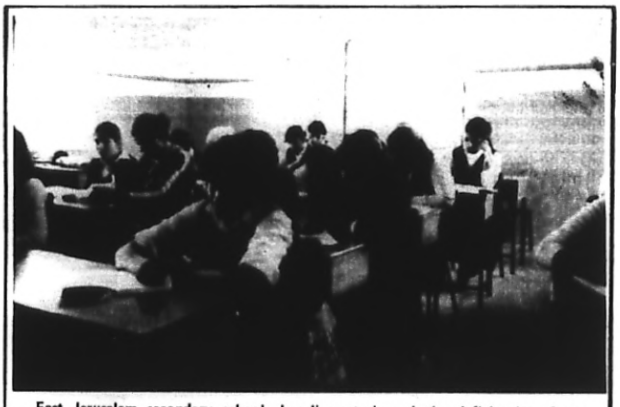
by Peter Newman

poor facilities are the more obvious difficulties facing education in the occupied territories. But such news tends to obscure damaging dilemmas in the teaching syllabi of schools. And Palestinian education will not fully recover until these problems also are resolved.

After 1967 the Israeli authorities attempted to force the government schools of East Jerusalem to teach for the Israeli matriculation syllabus *bagrut* in place of the Jordanian *tawjihi*. The effect was disastrous. The student population of the Rashidiya School for Boys fell in two years from 800 to 28. The Ma'muniya Girls High School decreased from 300 to 115 students. Nationalist sentiment against an Israeli-controlled education was obviously an important cause of this discontent. But there were also purely pragmatic reasons. Jerusalem Palestinians saw little point in studying for an exam which only a tiny fraction could pass and which is valueless to people wanting to study at Arab universities.

The Israeli authorities have since rescinded their order. East Jerusalem government schools were allowed to teach extra lessons geared to the *tawjihi*, and their students began to return. West Bank schools had never been barred from teaching for the *tawjihi* although many of their books were also banned or damagingly censored.

But the suitability of the Jordanian exam as the final goal of school education is now in question. Arab universities have become increasingly unwilling to accept Palestinians, and travel to and from them is getting more difficult. Recently even lecturers have suffered discriminatory action by universities. Palestinian students often feel badly treated by the *tawjihi* examiners and suspect that their marks are artificially lowered. The style of the exam is criticised for its reliance on rote learning. Palestinians have little power to bring about changes in the syllabus or style of exam questions. Yet the *tawjihi* remains important because it is the requirement of the Palestinian universities and because of its international standing.



East Jerusalem secondary school: Israeli controls and the deficiencies of the Jordanian exam all point to the need for a Palestinian system of educational assessment.

Private schools have for a long time taught their students the British General Certificate of Education syllabus. In the past Palestinians have been highly successful. But since the Jordanian government forced all schools to use the Jordanian curriculum results haven't been so good. The high standard of English needed for the GCE exam is impossible for students to attain if they have to study in Arabic for the *tawjihi*. The GCE system is based on a certificate for each subject rather than an overall matriculation test. Nowadays the few passes attained by the average student are insufficient to gain acceptance at foreign universities (four 'ordinary' level and one 'advanced' level pass). But students from private schools are still generally much more fluent in English than those from public schools, whose graduates often need intensive English tutoring before they can begin a university course.

These problems all point to the need for the Palestinian educational system to develop its own aims and system of assessment. Exams are needed towards which students can wholeheartedly devote their efforts, knowing that if they pass they will have reached a sufficient standard to begin a course at a Palestinian university without spending a frustrating term or year learning intensive English. Students would also know that their attainment was internationally recognised, like the *tawjihi*, and that the examined skills and syllabus, and their assessment, were under Palestinian control.

Obvious difficulties face such an enterprise. Apart from their brief attempt to assimilate East Jerusalem education into their own, the Israeli authorities have made clear their unwillingness to allow Palestinian education to develop. Nor do Jordanian authorities have any desire to see Palestinian education diverge. Immediately after 1967, the Amman authorities attempted to maintain control by organising a strike of teachers. They paid salaries to all teachers who refused to work for the Israeli government. And though this move didn't succeed, since the Israelis were able to recruit new teachers and persuade others to return in spite of the Jordanian ban, many West Bank teachers still receive Jordanian salaries, thus supplementing their income. So they will be unwilling to see any shift away from Jordanian control.

But despite the difficulties, the creation and development of Palestinian universities and the degree of independence enjoyed by private schools give some grounds for hope. Universities might begin to set their own matriculating exams in place of the *tawjihi*, testing a syllabus taught at first in just a few schools and later in many. Either the authorities have felt no need to restrict the educational freedom so far attained or they feel unable to prevent it. And either way, we may still hope to see emerge a truly Palestinian system of education.

Peter Newman is a secondary school teacher in East Jerusalem.

Keep it Up!

To the Staff of *Al Fajr*,

For the first time since I have been reading the newspaper, I feel the urge to congratulate the staff on an interesting and well-prepared newspaper. I have always been a bit disappointed with the only 'other' English newspaper in the country. I know how important the paper can and should be, especially to the uninformed Anglo-Saxons living on the other side of the city.

The lay-out was a great improvement over past issues, and the front-page story by your Rome correspondent was especially good. The article on the new art centre in the city was clear, concise and well-written. In general the paper looks like you want to pick it up and read it all. And congratulations for having an editorial. . . finally!

Keep it up!
Jackie Lubeck/Abu Salem
Jerusalem
December 9, 1983

Agriculture MOs in German Press

To the editor:

Thank you very much for your letter. Meanwhile I received the first copies of *Al Fajr* and it is really a great deal of help for us in covering the Palestinian scene in our paper. Our compliments for the fine journalistic work done by our colleagues in Jerusalem.

Thanks to *Al Fajr* we were able — as the first paper in our country — to inform our readers about the Military Orders concerning agriculture on the West Bank. We'll continue using the paper as our main source on the occupied territories.

Fraternal greetings.
Yours,
Klaus Polkehn
Deputy Chief Editor
Wochenpost
Berlin

Israeli racist groups have spread their attempts to segregate housing to Jaffa. **Awad Abd al-Fattah** visited the area for *Al Fajr* and found that apart from shooting and racist abuse, Jaffa Palestinians endure atrocious housing conditions.

Segregated 'Cœxistence' in Jaffa

On November 29, *Yediot Aharanot* published a story to the effect that the Israeli residents of one Jaffa quarter petitioned the Israeli housing ministry "which has recently started selling apartments to Arabs in the neighbourhood." They didn't want Arab neighbours. The paper quoted one member of the Israeli neighbourhood's committee as saying: "They (Arabs) are our enemies. I am for coexistence, but not in the same building." Others voiced more racist attitudes, saying: "Arabs should not have a foothold in a Jewish environment."

Public racism as reflected in the opposition of Israelis to living in mixed neighbourhoods comes as no surprise to Palestinians within the pre-1967 borders of Israel. Not long ago overt and public racism in Upper Nazareth was highlighted in the Israeli media when they covered the case of an Arab family prevented by a group of Israelis from entering an apartment they had purchased in the town. Neither have Palestinians forgotten the series of lectures and demonstrations organised and led by Meir Kahane, the head of the overtly racist Kach movement, in support of his Upper Nazareth campaign calling on Israelis not to sell or lease apartments to residents of the Arab town of Nazareth.

A stroll around the current 'battleground' in Jaffa exposes a series of contradictions. On one side of the quarter stand five or six modern Israeli-style apartment blocks surrounded by green lawns and flanked by a children's playground. Lanes connecting the buildings are paved and well organised. They are lined with street lights.

On the other side of the same quarter, just a few dozen metres away, there is a grouping of single-storey houses. It's impossible for a casual visitor to tell whether they are derelict or inhabited until they enter. They look very old. A few have apparently been renovated recently. Behind the 15 or so houses are piles of dirt, old pieces of wood and rusting iron. The track leading to the houses is also a dirt track linking Jaffa's two parallel main streets.

Arab side of the Jaffa 'battlefield': "We will continue to expose their racist policies towards us."

Israelis live on one side of the quarter, Arabs on the other.

Abu al-Abed, a man in his 40s, lives with his eight children in a two-room-plus-kitchen house on the wrong side of the dirt track. He stepped out of his house and pointed at the modern buildings opposite and said, "We can't afford to live in these buildings, they're much too expensive."

He explained that "Israeli Jews are given high loans and financial facilities which we cannot get."

His neighbour joined the conversation to give another angle. He says that the Israeli company which built the project has refused to sell apartments openly to Arabs. He says the three Arab families who have apartments in these blocks "are collaborators."

Asked whether he'd heard about or read the *Yediot* story, Abu al-Abed said "racism against Arabs in Jaffa is not new, but in fact this specific subject has not yet aroused certain repercussions among the Jaffa Arab community." He clarified that only two or three Arab residents have signed apartment purchase contracts with the Israeli construction company, but they have not moved in yet. But, he added, "this is why the neighbourhood's committee has taken its racist steps."

Mustafa Seif, an activist in an Arab neighbourhood committee, believes that the Israeli construction company's decision to start selling long-vacant apartments to Arabs was motivated solely by the financial crisis. The collapse of the Israeli economy in October is now causing the sharp drop in construction and purchase of apartments in Israel. "The decision of the company is not based on principle," he remarked. "It has a purely commercial motive." Mustafa Seif wondered why the company didn't process applications from many Arab Jaffan's filed months before the crash.

continued on page 15

Maher Abukhater recently toured the Old City for *Al Fajr* speaking to souvenir shop owners and other businesspeople about their fears for the future. As well as a fall-off in tourists, Old City merchants face competition from government-supported Israeli shops, the attention of tax officials and right wing settlers.

Trouble for the Tourist Trade

Tourism in Israel and the occupied territories dropped dramatically following the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, according to official Israeli government figures. It's been on a downward path since. The unstable political situation in the Middle East coupled with high prices has kept many tourists from coming here. The impact of this drop in tourism is being harped on constantly by tourism minister Sharir and is felt throughout the country. Its impact has been most visible in the eastern part of Jerusalem.

Palestinian store owners in Jerusalem, particularly those selling souvenirs and local crafts to tourists, are facing even more serious problems this year. Tourism came to a virtual standstill during last year's invasion of Lebanon. The resulting downturn is still being felt today. "It is not enough that the market is almost dead this year," Abed al-Ra'ouf Abu Assab, secretary of the Union of Traders and Businessmen in Jerusalem, said, "they are also taking our customers away from us."

By they, Abu Assab means Israelis, both government and other organisations. He refers to organised attempts by certain Zionist organisations, notably the fascist Kach movement, to divert tourist shoppers from the Arab market to stores in the Jewish quarter. Kach, led by US Rabbi Meir Kahane, is militantly anti-Arab. Movement activists tour the Old City trying to discourage foreign shoppers from buying in Arab stores. Abu Assab, who also owns a souvenir shop near the Jewish quarter, says shoppers have been harassed out of his store.

Kach distributes a leaflet "Buy Jewish" in the Old City. "The Israeli economy is in deep trouble. And you spend your money in Arab East Jerusalem?" it reads. "At this crucial time when the Jewish state is desperately struggling to improve its fragile economy, it is vitally important that you spend your money in Jewish stores and markets." Stories are legend of tour guides and tourist advisors trying to scare tourists out of East Jerusalem with racist stories. These usually collapse if a visitor has face-to-face contact with Palestinians.

The Israeli government plays a more critical and damaging role in Jerusalem and the West Bank in general. Taxes top every Arab businessperson's list of complaints.

"When we were first ordered to pay income tax," Abu Assab said, "we were asked to record everything in books. But this did not please them and then they asked us to buy machines that would show every entry. This too was later said to be unsatisfactory, and therefore we had to have an official accountant. And then they came back and told us we should keep books!"

Tax officials do not accept Palestinians' records and determine levies haphazardly, shopkeepers charge. Heavy taxes are demanded, and the assessors then declare themselves open for further negotiations. One store owner who did not want his name mentioned said, "the tax officials first ask the merchants to pay astronomical amounts, but when you go to negotiate the amount they take it down drastically in a way to make it look as if they have done you a special favour. You pay the negotiated amount before the officials change their minds. One merchant said his tax assessment fell from IL11 million to IL3 million in one go. Israeli figures are accepted without much trouble, Abu Assab explained.

Old City souvenir shop owner waiting for customers: "The market is almost dead this year."

Another member in the Traders Union, Ibrahim Abu Omar, said taxes have bankrupted many shopowners. Many, he added, moved from Jerusalem to the West Bank or abroad because "they couldn't take the economic situation here anymore."

This, many Palestinians fear, is part of a planned policy. The Kach movement and other Zionist organisations like Gush Emunim have publicly campaigned for the expulsion of Palestinians from the occupied territories. The government, shopkeepers say, adopts more subtle policies aiming at the same thing. Anti-Arab Zionist groups are allowed freedom of movement in harassing Palestinians in order to force them to leave. Settlement of Jews in the Old City of Jerusalem is on the move at the expense of the city's Palestinian residents. A new committee to resettle Jews in Muslim neighbourhoods of the Old City, made up of Israeli state and local government officials, held its first meeting, December 1, and discussed ways to expand settlement inside the city walls. Under this plan, the Jewish Quarter market will expand. Jerusalem's Palestinian shopowners fear this is intended to kill their business.

Meanwhile, complaints about the sluggish market can be heard throughout the West Bank. A newcomer to the business, Harout Sandrouni, owner of the Armenian Arts Centre in Jaffa Gate, described the condition of the market in two words, "very bad." He said he hopes the market will pick up at Christmas. But he's realistic enough not to build up too much hope. "Even if many tourists come here," he said, "they will probably be lured to the nearby Jewish Quarter market, which is big enough to dwarf Arab shops."

Azgul says many tourists are already predisposed to believe bad stories they are told about the Arabs. He said many of the tourists he has met during his years in business have total ignorance of the political situation here and transpose biblical stories about the 'nation of Israel' into contemporary politics. "They come here, therefore, wanting to buy only Jewish things," Azgul added. "It is therefore easy to persuade them to shop at the Jewish market only."

In spite of the organised attempts by the government and several anti-Arab Zionist groups to push them out, local shopowners have so for been able to hold out and stay on their feet. But they realise that their real war against efforts to force them to migrate has not yet begun.

The carving up of the West Bank is irreversible, says the Israeli establishment, pointing to the transformation they've effected in concrete and tarmac; not so, says **Zvi Barel** of *HaAretz*. He acknowledges the facts, but does not forget political reality.

As Concrete As Political Concreteness

The home of the Abdel Nabi family being squeezed out by the prefabs of Gilo settlement: "One ton of concrete that is poured onto the land does not create a political fact, even if it is in the shape of a villa. As long as there is no significant number of people who will populate the concrete constructions, the question of price will remain the central question."

Road to Israeli settlement of Ma'ale Adumim under construction: as concrete as the infrastructure connecting Israeli settlements in the West Bank, bypassing Arab transportation and resourse networks. Nevertheless, "the present situation on the ground and the development forecasts" are not irreversible.

It seems that the pompous plans and the noisy publicity are only bluff; just a thin stream of families have moved onto the West Bank. A situation will develop in which Israelis, constituting only 3.5 percent of the total population, will rule 800,000 Arabs.

Growth Behind Expectations

The enthusiasm that catches everyone who visits the south of the West Bank these days is not incomprehensible. The external impression given by the volume of activity, the speed of construction of houses and roads, the stretching of electric wires and laying down of water supplies has something in it that excites. The small industrial plants, the experimental agricultural fields and those that already produce fruit, the loaded washing lines and the laughter of the kids, give the occasional visitor a sense of "this is it" — they've driven in a deep stake that cannot be pulled out.

In the different government offices the mood spreads from satisfaction and self-praise to a feeling that "we've not yet done enough." The Department of Settlement of the World Zionist Organisation, headed by Matityahu Drobless, is full of data on the number of the settlements and the inhabitants that would occupy the West Bank in 1987 and in the year 2000. In the planning sections, engineers and architects are working on general plans of new and old settlements, and all are trying to prove by quoting various indications and examples that the situation as it is today is irreversible. From their point of view, the ideological dispute has ended for good. The question is not whether the (West) Bank is an inseparable part of Israel but how to neutralise the possibility this question will even be raised — with thousands of cubic metres of concrete and hundreds of tons of tar — and how to create an integrated Jewish-Arab population that will hold by force the two parts of "the country" and simultaneously to bombard the (West) Bank with Israeli settlements in order to avoid Arab territorial continuity. And the essence, so it seems, is hidden in the question, whether we have created enough facts on the ground that will take us a long way from political solutions — like runners who strain and pant and put a fair distance between themselves and their competitors.

However, it seems that the pompous plans and the noisy publicity are only bluff. The facts on the ground present a different picture. Research by Dr Meron Benvenisti about the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, based on official data, clarifies that the number of Israelis who live on the West Bank is no more than 28,000 people. Indeed in the settlement department they have promised for the past six months that in September — with the beginning of the school year — there would be a population explosion. But so far there is nothing but a thin stream of families who have moved onto the West Bank. Furthermore, the big government publicity campaign through the ministry of labour and the Centre for Settlement in Development Towns recruited 1350 families for (West) Bank settlements, and between now and the time that solutions are found to their housing problems presumably some will drop out and find other solutions.

The examination of the growth of the population on the (West) Bank that Benvenisti made proves that in the Jordan Valley region — described in the Agency's maps as a low-demand area — there are 700 (Israeli) families today, a number that constitutes an average annual growth of about seven percent since 1967. According to this average, there will be about 1000 (Israeli) families there in 10 years time (about 4500 people). In the medium demand areas, including settlements in the foothills, the picture is generally not much different. In 1982 about 6000 souls lived in this region (not including Kiryat Arba, with a population of 3000).

An examination of population growth percentage in this region proves that in the majority of settlements the growth percentage since 1977 — when Likud came to power — did not exceed 9 (in Kiryat Arba, 20 percent per year). That is, in 10 years time it will have a population of 9000, or a 17 percent increase including Kiryat Arba. It is notable that this region is the settlement centre of Gush Emunim, and the expected population growth in it is dependent on future developments. Leaders of the "Gush" express fear that "ideologically committed" settlers are diminishing.

The employment opportunities in the region, as described in the research, are not good. In the Mate Binyamin Council region, for instance, only 29 percent of the Israeli population make their living inside the settlement. Of them, more than 60 percent work in public institutions, that is, they are paid from government budgets. In the Gush Etzion Council area, the situation is no better. More than 40 percent work outside the settlement, and one-third of the remainder work in public institutions.

These details, that are known to the heads of the settlement department and to the settlement banner-bearers in the government, lead necessarily to the conclusion that the two most important regions from the point of view of security and the national concept of the supporters of greater *Eretz Israel* — the Jordan Valley and the foothills — might develop in the future into a lacerated limb that cannot maintain itself economically. The size of the population that will exist in them in 10 years time cannot be considered a "political fact" justifying the statement that the situation is "irreversible."

On the other hand, in these regions, and especially in the foothills, a situation will develop in which the Israelis, constituting only about 3.5 percent of the total population, will rule, or rather tyrannise, more than 800,000 Arabs. And here not only the 'security-national' concept loses but specifically the basic Zionist concept.

Where, therefore, is it possible afterall to expect developments in settlement on the (West) Bank? According to Meron Benvenisti's forecasts, two big urban centres can possibly be built: one on the outskirts of Jerusalem, and the other east of the Petah Tikva-Kfar Saba line. These two regions have a majority of Israeli inhabitants who may nurture an internal migration from the big towns to their direct surroundings inside the (West) Bank. In Benvenisti's view, 25,000 people will live in the Jerusalem area (compared with 4000 in 1981) and more than 70,000 people in the Tel Aviv bloc beyond the 'green line' (compared with about 4000 now). This forecast is built on the good opportunity to exploit building land in these regions and on its proximity to existing employment centres and marketing centers for industrial plants, the establishment of which will be preferred there rather than in more distant regions.

In light of this, it is possible to describe the settlement map as follows: two narrow, densely populated metropolitan centres, one attached to Jerusalem — to a great extent at its expense — and the other in the Kfar Saba-Petah Tikva region; and the mountain region dotted with little islands of Israelis with extremely limited development opportunities. In the east would be a desert region almost totally abandoned.

The present situation on the ground and the development forecasts do not mesh with the statement that we have reached an irreversible situation. One ton of concrete that is poured onto the land does not create a political fact, even if it is in the shape of a villa. As long as there is no significant number of people who will populate the concrete constructions, the question of price will remain the central question. (Translation: HaAretz, October 7, 1983).

Roads for Jews, Roads for Arabs

Two roads lead to the township of Yatta, south of Hebron, today. One is old, narrow and dangerous, going through Hebron's Zif military camp, leading to Yatta, and the other — new and wide — joins Kiryat Arba through the settlements of Yaquin, Carmel, Ma'on and from there by extension to Yatta. This road will, in the near future, detour the towns of Hebron, Halhoul and the Arab villages and will join the southern mountain settlements with Jerusalem. From the town Ma'ale Adumim there is the final stage of a road that will join the settlement with French Hill in Jerusalem, avoiding the villages of Azariyya, Abu Dis and East Jerusalem. In the south of the West Bank a long list of by-passes around the Arab towns and villages was completed long ago.

This parallel set of roads aims to join Jewish settlements and create fast and convenient routes between the centre of the (West) Bank and Israel. It also symbolises the new concept informing settlement planners — that first basic infrastructure should be extended on account of which settlers will be encouraged to move into the settlements.

It is easier to convince potential settlers to come and live in a place 15-20 minutes from Tel Aviv — thanks to the new roads — than to take them over twisted roads passing through Arab villages, which at least doubles the length of the journey.

However, this is not the end of the duplication of the infrastructure: besides the Israeli roads, "Israeli" waterlines connect the settlements; "Israeli" high-tension lines aim to provide the electricity needs of the settlements and the new industrial plants; there are perfect telephone exchanges in the settlements; and in some places separate sewage systems.

The Sewage Network Dictates Settlement

This dual set-up spawns a double population. After mass land seizures, potentially converting 45 percent of the (West) Bank into 'state land', settlements are no longer established by any means and in any possible place. Today bodies responsible for settlement permit themselves a general plan that is not necessarily connected to security concepts. The principle guideline of the ministerial committee for settlement when dealing with confirmation of new settlements states that a settlement be confirmed only after the examination of a professional committee on its integration into the regional context. The term "regional context" does not cover even regional security aspects. These are no longer criteria for settlement. The regional context is intended first and foremost to refer to the infrastructure.

The questions determined are whether the proposed settlement can be established near an existing sewage system, whether a planned electricity line includes the proposed settlement and whether the new roads pass it. Only at the second stage is the fitness of the population for the settlement beyond the 'green line' examined. And here the innovation — that settlements are established on roads and on sewage networks and not *vice versa* — comes into play. When the financial investment in settlements began to overburden the national pocket, the population centres were created in places where the investment in the infrastructure was cheapest or already existed. This is why private firms were granted permits to purchase land on the (West) Bank and to establish private settlements in which the state investment is smaller. This new planning concept has already created, in practice, two areas with different populations. One region includes the veteran Gush Emunim settlements — constructed for security or ideological reasons; the other region was founded on an economic "ideology." Developments in the field already indicate that this new "ideology" will defeat "old-fashioned" concepts.

Dr Meron Benvenisti has forecast from his research that two blocks of Jewish population are being created on the (West) Bank: one in the metropolitan area of Jerusalem and the other east of the Petah Tikva-Kfar Saba line. The speed at which Ma'ale Adumim is being populated on the one hand, and Ariel and the Elkana Block on the other — in comparison with the standstill in settlements on the mountain slopes and the (Jordan) Valley — may confirm this forecast. Furthermore, the physical planned and existing infrastructure in these regions gives excellent reason to believe that this is indeed the direction of development.

This development, that might perhaps be considered normal when we speak of regions with homogenous populations, carries within itself the danger of a division of Israeli society itself. That is, up to a certain spot democracy is kept, and east from there is a mixed society, maintained according to the principles of classical *apartheid*; and further east from there, in the region of the mountain slopes, exists a vague and zealous Israeli minority with a huge and no less zealous Arab population. According to Benvenisti's data, in about 10 years the population of Jerusalem and its periphery will be 54 percent Israeli and 46 percent Arab; in the Sharon region the Arabs will constitute more than one-third of the population. That is, one-third to one-half of the population in these regions will live under military rule, and the rest under Israeli democracy. Each will have its own infrastructure.

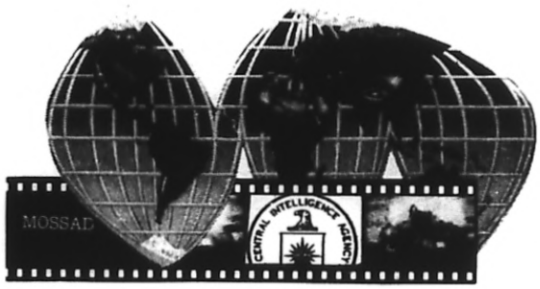
"Israeli" roads near "Arab" roads. One side will be able to come and go at any hour of the day, and the other will have to resort to work permits — the possibility of spending their nights outside their region will be limited. One side will be tried in Arab courts according to Jordanian law or in military courts, and the others will be tried according to Israeli law and in Israeli courts. One side will be the plant owners, and the others will work for them.

The situation on the slopes will be graver than this — there is no grounds for expecting an expansion of Israeli population. If the present growth of about 9 percent per annum is maintained, then in about 10 years there will not be more than 20,000 Israelis there, compared with about 600,000 Arabs. This population relationship will create a situation in which about three percent of the population rules — or perhaps we should say terrorises — the rest. Those hard points of friction, samples of which we can observe today in Hebron, will develop as a result.

The physical developments on the ground directed by the government — like the development of a sewage network — leads towards a pluralistic society, but it will be pluralism that will put colt-owners in the same cage with a defenceless people, the imposers of the law with their subjects, passport bearers with permit holders. Yes, and also followers of one religion with followers of another religion, and bearers of one set of national feelings with bearers of contradictory national feelings. This will be the sort of pluralism that the further it climbs up the mountain the lower it will sink morally and nationally. The question then will not be anymore whether the situation is reversible or irreversible or whether the settlements are an obstacle for peace but whether they are not an obstacle for the Zionist existence of the state and society. (Translation: HaAretz, October 9, 1983).

Cooperation in the intelligence field between Israel and the US is worth its weight in gold — according to Israel and its supporters in the US defending the recent massive aid increases. But everyone is reticent about what exactly that cooperation entails. In a recent article for *Yediot Aharanot*, writer Zev Barak peeked into the murky history of the spooks' liaisons.

Israeli-American Intelligence Ties are Close and Comfortable



To what extent is the current cooperation between the US and Israeli intelligence agencies strong? Are there close working relations between the CIA and the Mossad? And what about the different intelligence agencies which are in the American defence ministry and their relations with the intelligence arm of the Israeli Army?

As is well-known, people who work in intelligence, from both sides, do not tend to talk much. When they provide journalists with information which is supposed to be "from behind closed doors," you never know how reliable it is or whether it is a part of a disinformation campaign. There are also political reasons, due to the nature of this system, which make the process of obtaining true and accurate information difficult.

From the traditional American point of view, strong relations between the US and Israel in the sphere of intelligence or in other strategic spheres are liable to upset the Arabs. Because of this, American officials do not always make public close relations with Israel. They fear that such disclosure weakens the American interests in the Arab world.

But Israel is doing the opposite. Israeli officials frequently try to portray an exceptional image of the American-Israeli cooperation over a large range of issues, including intelligence.

In doing this, they intend to get the Arabs to recognise the deeply-rooted treaty between Israel and the US, in the hope the Arab states will abandon their traditional policy, which rejects the recognition of Israel's right to exist.

There is no doubt that the decision of late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat to organise his historic visit to Jerusalem in November 1977 was instigated, at least partly, by his knowledge that Israeli-US relations are very close and that there is no possibility of their collapsing. He was convinced that continued refusal to negotiate directly with Israel will only make problems for Egypt because the military option against Israel was bankrupt, as a result of its unshakable cooperation with the US.

But despite the difficulties facing the attempt to evaluate the present situation in intelligence cooperation, there are ways to reveal at least part of the mystery. Interviews with a number of reliable and authorised sources, American and Israeli, show that the current atmosphere between the two countries is comfortable. There is considerable cooperation in intelligence.

This subject is not widely known and publicised, but according to the FBI there are one or two agents who are attached to the American Embassy in Tel Aviv who link the American authorities and the Israeli police. The Israeli police, for its part, has a representative attache in the Israeli Embassy in New York.

Israel asked for help from the US in other spheres, mainly those in which Israel's capability is limited, namely technological matters, such as electronic listening devices, or follow-up and photography by intelligence satellite. Israel has been always stronger in the "human" spheres of collecting information — namely "planting" agents in foreign countries.

Over the years, it is very possible that Israel's defence ministers met, on their visits to Washington, the CIA director. These meetings are never included in the open plans of the visits.

The Link Man

Yitzhak Hofi, who was head of the Mossad until recently, accompanied Prime Minister Menachem Begin to the party for the signing of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty in March 1979. I remember I saw him sitting quietly by one of the tables in the big tent which was put up on the southern lawn of the White House for the celebration dinner. He was not registered on the list of official guests as the head of the Israeli Mossad. Contrary to the identification of the head of the CIA in the US, the identity of the head of the Mossad is kept secret, but most people who have inside information usually know his identity. It is understood that he is known and recognised by the American government.

The connection between Israel and the CIA has been close for many years. Sources close to James Angleton, once the CIA's link man with Israel, say he provided Israel secret information on nuclear weapons. "Angleton was not exceptional..."

The connection between Israel and the CIA has been close for many years. It grew up at the time when James Angleton served as head of the counter-espionage branch of the CIA and as the primary link man with the Israelis.

Ted Shultz, a famous American foreign correspondent, quoted sources close to Angleton saying that he helped Israel secretly, providing it with technical information on nuclear weapons at the end of the 1950s. Seymour Hirsh, a former corespondent of *The New York Times* who wrote a book not long ago severely attacking Henry Kissinger, reported, June 25, 1978, that Shultz's sources "are similar, to a certain extent, to what I heard from a senior official in the CIA, that Angleton, who was then the link man of the CIA with the Israelis, passed to Israel technical knowledge of the same kind also in the mid 1960s."

Angleton was forced to resign from the CIA when Gerald Ford was president, and some people claim that it was Kissinger who pressured it. He himself refused to respond to statements attributed to him regarding the passage of the nuclear information to Israel, although all agree that he was an enthusiastic supporter of Israel during his service in the CIA.

The CIA announced in 1975 that Angleton lost his job in December 1974 because of divisions of opinion over US policy towards Israel and not — as it was reported before then — because of charges of internal betrayal inside the CIA. According to CBS, Angleton claimed that Kissinger's policy towards the USSR — detente — was "lenient." It was said then that Angleton argued with then head of the CIA, William Colby, mainly about the American policy in the Middle East. According to the report, Colby instructed Angleton, for example, not to visit East Jerusalem when he was staying in Israel because "it is occupied Arab territory." According to CBS, Colby told Angleton in June, 1974 that from then on he must stop handling Israeli affairs in the CIA. He was given two options: to retire or to write a guidebook on counter-spying. Angleton, CBS reported, chose the first option.

Angleton certainly was not exceptional among the intelligence staff. Over the years there have been experts who learned that Israel is the primary strategic asset of the US in the Middle East, and one of the reasons behind this was Israel's contribution to the American intelligence community.

In a symposium organised in May 1983 in Washington on the strategic balance in the Middle East, the head of the intelligence department of the American Air Force, General Keegan, said: "Today the capability of the American Air Force in particular and the armed American forces in general to defend NATO positions is indebted to the attention of Israeli intelligence more than any other intelligence source, in the fields of tracking satellites, electronic listening posts, etc."

Common Interests

But this does not mean that all the people of American intelligence share this positive perspective of Israel. There are those who are worried about the position of the US in the Arab world. Their assessment of the American national interest fits more into the traditional "Arabist" perspective in the State Department than to the school of Angleton or Keegan. On the other hand, the Israeli-American relations system reached a point where the close cooperation between the two countries is a fact.

This was stressed in an important speech which the Deputy Secretary of State for Political Affairs Lawrence Eagleburger made June 12, 1983. After he pointed out the traditional reasons for US support for Israel, Eagleburger said: "This backing rests on a large base of common strategic interests...Our generous economic and military support did not only help Israel defend itself but it also contributes to the security of our country. The democratic institutions of Israel and its political stability turn it to a loyal and serious friend in an unstable area. The Soviets view its military might as an obstacle in the way of their expansionist aspirations in the Middle East. The security of Israel is vital to the security of the US and we will not stand passive before Soviet threats against the security of Israel."

The American strategists see this as a fact, that Israel helps the US during any conventional collision with the Soviet Union or other hostile power in the area. This is because in a case like this, there will be congruence between the American and the Israeli interests. This helps explain why all political observers who predicted only a few months ago an inevitable confrontation between Washington and Jerusalem were wrong again. (Translation: Yediot Aharanot, September 22, 1978).

Soft-spoken, bespectacled Moshe Arens, Israel's present defence minister, is often described as the antithesis of his bombastic predecessor, Ariel Sharon. **Matti Golan** of *HaAretz* dismisses this claim, drawing out the similarities between the two men and ascribing the present conflict between them to crude personal ambition.

The Power Duel: Arens in Sharon's Office

The fact that Ariel Sharon has started a direct and frontal attack against Moshe Arens should not surprise anyone. This attack was not only expected; it can be said that from Sharon's point of view such a development was unavoidable, and for this reason there is no doubt that it will continue.

Whoever wants to understand this phenomenon must quickly abandon any thought that Sharon has anything personal against Arens. Over the years the two have had very good relations, and there are certainly no frictions between them on an ideological level. In this affair Arens is the abused, not for his character, his principles or even his deeds. He serves as a target for Sharon's arrows for the simple reason that he holds the office of defence minister now.

From the moment Sharon was forced to leave the defence ministry, it was clear the he would stay in the corner to ambush his successor at the first opportunity. Expressions of sorrow and regret or admission of mistakes are as strange to Sharon's character as telling the truth.

From this tactical angle it can be said that the Kahan Commission has benefitted Sharon. The commission enabled him to jump off the carriage before it sank into Lebanese mud and therefore to save himself and watch from the sidelines the continuation of the decline. But Sharon could not satisfy himself with this advantage. True to his character and the path he has taken over the years, he decided to change this observation post into a jump-off position which would return him to his previous office — and maybe even more than that.

It quickly became clear that this campaign was not complicated at all, and that all that was necessary was for Sharon to wait for the next moves. There was no danger that these moves would be successful. All he had to do was repeat like a parrot: "If I was still defence minister the situation would have been different."

This is exactly what Sharon did. There are problems because the (Israeli Army) does not get out of the Shouf mountains? Sharon cries out that a retreat is necessary, even if the price is a conflict with the Americans. The army retreats and there are problems with the Druze and the Palestinians? Sharon does not lose a minute in asking the question: "How come Arens did not foresee such a development?"

It seems that even Sharon did not dream of playing such a comfortable part. He can say anything he wants without having to bear any responsibility. And there is something even better and even more comfortable: who can prove that he is not right?

But even if the personal element does not play a main part in Sharon's strategy, it is impossible to disregard its existence. And indeed Arens has lately come to the conclusion that this situation cannot continue. In his style of understatement, Arens has noted in the cabinet, when reacting to Sharon's criticisms, that not all those who criticise today have known how to foresee future developments in the past. And later he went even further when he said that Sharon's criticism is a result of his human weakness.

The exchanges between the two personalities could create the impression that the rivalry is based on ideological or strategic differences in their positions on the two sides of the Lebanese barricade. This impression creates a false picture of the reality.

One should know and remember Moshe Arens is not (dovish Labour MK) Yossi Sarid, who argued from the first day that the war in Lebanon is cursed. Moshe Arens is not even Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin, who supported the original aims of the war. Moshe Arens is not David Levy, who expressed doubts about the steps taken in Beirut. From all these points of view Moshe Arens is like Ariel Sharon. Arens has very much supported each aim of this war and each of its moves. Even in the most closed forums he was no less extremist than Sharon in everything concerning the war.

For this reason, there is a large measure of hypocrisy in Arens' claim that the Phalangists' entrance into the Shouf mountains has brought about the present situation in the area. The claim itself is, of course, correct. But Arens cannot say today that he was not a participant, even if a passive one, to this move, because whoever supported the encirclement of Beirut and taking control over the Beirut-Damascus highway had to automatically support the Phalangists' entrance into the Shouf mountains.

On no account should one conclude from this that in this debate Sharon is the one who is right. He would have won this mark if he had said: "I was wrong when I allowed the Phalangists to enter the Shouf and the proof is the present situation; but Arens, together with me and maybe many others, has also been mistaken, and no less than I."

If Sharon had said all this he would have been worth all the esteem. But what he really said was that all that was done while he held the office was right. Everything that has been done since is wrong.

Anyone who expects Sharon to admit his mistakes must be a believer in miracles.

But this is not Arens' case, and this in accordance to his own testimony. On different occasions we have heard him express criticisms of people who are not able to admit they have been mistaken. Therefore one can conclude that Arens sees himself as belonging to the category of the people who are able to do so. If this is the case, why does he keep silent? Today he holds the opinion that the bringing of the Phalangists into the Shouf was a mistake; by his hurry to leave the area he stated in effect that we should have never departed from the original aims of the 'Peace for Galilee Operation'. And maybe even that we should never have sent the army across the country's borders.

Why doesn't he admit his mistake, as his words and deeds demand him to? Why does he try to hide behind the claim that it was Sharon who did not foresee what was going to happen, when the reality is that Arens himself supported every single move of Sharon? Why is the minister of defence, with his pleasant appearance and his ability to arouse confidence in himself, unable to tell the people the truth: Sharon was wrong and so was he? Today it is necessary to try and correct this mistake.

The confrontation between these two personalities is not between one who is right and another who is wrong, but between two people who were both wrong. This fact must stay imprinted on our memory, because Arens continues to be our minister of defence, and especially because of his positions on the question of the West Bank.

* * *

Thus spoke Arens on the war in Lebanon, as chairman of the Foreign and Security Affairs Committee in the Knesset:

"During the last four years the PLO has built a mini-state in South Lebanon, between Beirut and the Litani River, including 'Fatah land', under the auspices of the Syrian Army. The legitimacy of their existence is in attacking Israeli citizens and we must find an answer to that" (July 19, 1981).

In an article by Moshe Arens, "Strategical Aims in Lebanon," he wrote:

"It is impossible to ensure the security of the settlements in the north as long as the PLO can act without any disturbance from its bases in Lebanon. This is why we shall help the founding of a security strip in the South Lebanon area. Indeed such a strip will minimise the PLO's ability to act in Lebanon against targets in Israel. It will minimise but it will not prevent. The peace and the security of the population in the north depend, therefore, on the future of an independent Lebanon. This is why the strategic aim of Israel is identical with the aims of those Lebanese citizens who abhor the foreign military forces and who fight for the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon. Only Israel, who has no territorial aspiration whatsoever in Lebanon, can help with the reinstatement of peace in Lebanon without prejudicing its sovereignty.

As Israel's ambassador in Washington, Arens is on record as stating:

6.1.82 — In an article entitled "Cuba and South Lebanon": "Shelters are not an answer to the problem of bombardment. The answer should be looked for on a different level. Only the removal of the missiles from South Lebanon can reinstate the security of the Galilee population."

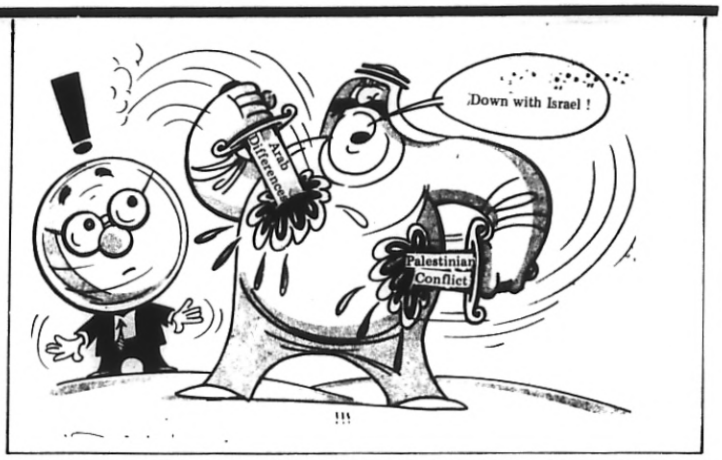
26.2.82 — "It is only a question of time until the PLO will provoke and draw us into military action." In answer to a question about Israeli projects to invade Lebanon, he said: "Such a possibility certainly exists."

19.5.82 — During a press conference in Los Angeles: "If the PLO starts hostile actions at the northern border which will endanger the lives of the civilian population of Israel, this will bring about a total destruction of the organisation."

9.8.82 — Arens in an interview with CBS: "Military pressure should be activated for taking the terrorists out of Lebanon."

3.8.82 — In a newspaper interview: "The war in Lebanon has brought tremendous gains for the US and has changed the relationship of forces between the great powers." (Translation: HaAretz, September 21, 1983).

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



The plans for the departure of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and his men from the Lebanese port city of Tripoli, the Israeli and US attack against his forces and the settler-killing of a Nablus child were the major stories in the local Palestinian press this week. The bombings of American and French installations in Kuwait received a top spot in *Al Quds* and *Al Shaab*, December 13, while *Al Fajr* highlighted the punitive demolition of six homes in Hebron and Ramallah on the same day.

Other prominent stories were the discovery of booby-trapped grenades throughout the West Bank and the arsoning of six Arab cars in Jerusalem. A long CBS-TV interview with Jordan's King Hussein made front-page news in *Al Quds* but was downplayed by the nationalist newspapers.

Unity Against Aggression

The air raid on Syrian positions, the clear threat of more attacks on this Arab country and the Israeli-American strategic agreement would never have materialised if Sadat had not created the line of Arab acquiescence and competition to please and serve the American imperialists.

For this reason any shell that falls over Syria, the Shouf or Beqa'a and any attack on Syrians, Palestinians or Lebanese is bound to have an Arab hand involved in it.

The Arab regimes, in their silence, are benefitting from the division in the confrontation front. They try to cover their acquiescence with imperialist aggression, led by Washington, by faking their support for the PLO.

The return of unity between the anti-imperialist forces is a guarantee against these plots and will aid them in confronting imperialism and Israel.

AL TALIA
December 8

After Tripoli

The evacuation of the Palestinian fighters from Tripoli is expected to start in a few days if the Israeli threats to intervene in the evacuation process do not delay it. If the Palestinians leave safely, this will be the second such evacuation in a period of little more than a year.

There are differences and similarities in both events. They are similar in the sense that they were both supervised by foreign nations, evacuated on board Greek ships and destined for the west of the Arab world, particularly Algeria and Tunisia.

The difference lies in the reasons the fighters had to leave and the kind of soldiers besieging them.

In Beirut, the Palestinian movement was united under one leadership recognised by the whole world. Israel was the one surrounding Beirut and demanding the Palestinians be evacuated to complete the job it came to do.

In Tripoli, the Palestinian movement was divided. Syria, not Israel, was the one surrounding the Palestinian forces from the land, while Israel held a sea blockade on the city. This, in a way, brought out the coordination, whether intentional or not, of both blockades of Tripoli.

The exodus from Beirut led the PLO to re-evaluate its policies in light of the fact that it stood alone in fighting the massive Israeli invasion of Lebanon. This re-evaluation gave birth to the independent Palestinian decision, which Syria tries to bury behind the cover of the Palestinian opposition.

When the withdrawal from Tripoli is completed, the Palestinian movement will resume its role in a more realistic and serious way to implement the Palestinian will before any such move becomes impossible. This will be the challenge after Tripoli.

AL QUDS
December 9

The Evacuation Convoys

Preparations are underway for the departure of the besieged Palestinian forces in Tripoli. Fatah spokesperson, Ahmad Abd al-Rahman, said the evacuation will take 15 days to be completed after France and Greece agreed to guarantee the security of the evacuated fighters.

While we hope that the evacuation will be carried out without any trouble from Israel, which has threatened to sabotage it, we still feel we ought to make a few points for the sake of history.

Several Palestinian leaders who met in Aden, early in November, have called on Arafat to leave Tripoli. All this occurred before the fighting, which damaged the PLO's reputation as much as it hurt our people and fighters. This fighting almost took everything, including the image of the PLO with our people.

That call was sincere and resulted from an ability to predict the future, unlike the Palestinian right, which does not see beyond its own interests.

What would have happened if Arafat had agreed to the call by his comrades and would therefore have spared these lives and the thousands of refugees?

The evacuation is getting closer now, but this time it came after a bitter fight condemned by our people. This evacuation also means the departure of all the Palestinian fighters. Why, then, didn't we realise the seriousness of the issues in advance, rather than after a month or two?

AL MITHAQ
December 10

Reagan and Human Rights

US President Ronald Reagan announced, December 9, that a week for human rights will be observed on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the International Declaration of Human Rights.

So that there will not be a misunderstanding, Reagan condemned human rights violations in the Soviet Union, Poland and South Africa. Palestinian and Arab human rights are not of much interest to the American president for the simple reason that he does not consider Palestinians or Arabs to be human beings.

Just like former President Carter, when he carried high the banner of human rights, Reagan is trying to take advantage of this noble principle to serve imperialist interests. It seems, then, as if human rights in the occupied Arab land or in pro-US dictatorships are not important.

Whether the Palestinian people faces a new exodus and annihilation, everyone seems to forget their rights, particularly their rights to freedom and a state.

All we can say is that such a state of affairs reflects the words of Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish written during the siege of Beirut, last year: "At this moment, I feel ashamed to belong to this world."

AL SHA'AB
December 11

Confront Israeli Piracy

The world today is witnessing one of the silliest events in history. After the Palestinians in Tripoli agreed to stop fighting and withdraw from the city, and after the Greeks agreed to supply ships to carry the PLO chairman and his fighters to Tunis, Israel bombarded and blockaded Tripoli and announced that they will not give guarantees to anyone that they will not interfere in the evacuation process.

An Israeli official has said that the goal of Israel in not letting Arafat and his men leave Tripoli is to prevent Arafat and the PLO from starting all over again. Israel's former defence minister, Ariel Sharon, has also said Arafat should not be allowed to leave the city alive because Israel is about to finish the PLO.

It is clear from all this that Israel wants to destroy the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people or turn it into a dependent of Syria or any other Arab nation, after they have failed to physically annihilate it during the war in Lebanon and the siege of Beirut. They are hoping this will allow Jordan or any other Arab country they label "moderate" to enter negotiations with them on the basis of the Reagan Plan.

The PLO is an observer-member of the United Nations, recognised by most of the world. The UN is therefore responsible for its safety and the safety of its leader, Yasir Arafat. It is not possible for the international organisation to stand helpless before Israel's threats.

The Israeli blockade on Tripoli should be lifted, and the Israeli piracy and terrorism should be stopped.

AL ITTIHAD
December 12

Questions on an American Pullout

Press agencies report that the US intends to pull its contingent out of Beirut no later than June, next year.

What is interesting here is that the pullout is timed to occur five months before the new US presidential elections, indicating a link between the withdrawal timetable and the poll. A few questions are raised here: what will be the effect of the American withdrawal on the conflict in Lebanon and the regime there? Is this pullout going to lead to the successive withdrawal of other forces in the multinational forces? What will be the effect of all these withdrawals on the Lebanese crisis and the regime in particular if no solution is found in the near future for the problems in Lebanon?

We also wonder who will determine the fate of whom. Is the result of the US elections going to determine the outcome of the conflict in Lebanon? Or is this conflict going to play a role in determining the fate of the new American president?

AL FAJR
December 13

Bye, Bye Tripoli, Hello Reagan Plan?

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington DC Correspondent

In pursuit of its declared objectives in Lebanon, the US State Department expressed hope, this week, that the PLO will depart from Tripoli and that tension will be eased between Palestinians and the Israeli authorities on the West Bank. It also stated its pleasure about reports of criticism from West Bank Palestinians of the bomb explosion in a Jerusalem bus in which five Israelis died.

The US policy in Lebanon is, according to its authors, "multi-faceted." High on the American agenda is the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon. Reports of the imminent departure of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and Palestinian fighters from Tripoli meets this American objective, regardless of what and who is the real force behind it. In mid-October, this year, many political commentators here were suggesting that directly or indirectly the Syrian government agreed with the US on a PLO departure from north Lebanon. Reports now reaching Washington about an Israeli attempt to blockade the PLO departure are apparently not to US liking.

Palestinian fighters run for shelter as Israeli gunboats shelled Tripoli.

Asked about the Israeli attack on PLO positions in Tripoli on December 8, State Department Spokesperson Allen Romberg, while saying that he had no confirmation of this attack, expressed the official view of the PLO's departure. "We hope," he said, "that plans to evacuate the PLO from Tripoli will proceed unimpeded in order to resolve expeditiously a situation that has already led to many civilian casualties." He said this view had been made public to save civilians from further killing and violence. On December 12, another high ranking State Department official said its view had been formally communicated to the government of Israel. He refused to say if an answer was received or if one was expected.

According to other sources in Washington, the US aims at restarting talks between Arafat and Jordan's King Hussein about the September 1 Reagan Plan. During Israeli Premier Yitzhak Shamir's recent visit to Washington, President Reagan asked him to reconsider Israel's rejection of the September 1, 1982 initiative, but to no avail, a senior official told the press. The tactic of calling on Hussein to join the Reagan talks is believed to be intended to relieve Israel of the responsibility for the failure of the plan. With Arafat's successful departure from Tripoli, American officials believe there may be a chance to prolong the Reagan Plan's life until next year's presidential elections. Commentators here have said that with Israel's rejection of the plan and US unwillingness to press Shamir, publicising the Hussein-Arafat talks could end up causing Arafat and the PLO more trouble from Palestinian and Arab ranks. King Hussein, when asked about the likelihood of talks with the PLO chairman, December 11, on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley," said he is "waiting for the appropriate conditions, certainly Palestinian participation and support" and Arab support as well. Asked if he shouldn't resume his role as spokesperson for the Palestinians by abrogating the 1974 Rabat decisions, Hussein said that nothing has happened which could alter the fact that the PLO is the party to represent the Palestinian people, adding "we will continue to do business with the PLO, which represents the people of Palestine and their hopes and aspirations."

Anti-nuke Coalition Marches in WB

The Bethlehem Peace Pilgrimage Group, an international anti-nuclear ecumenical organisation, arrived in Haifa, December 4, to begin the last stage of their 12,000 kilometre trek from a Trident nuclear missile base in Bangor, Washington to Bethlehem on the West Bank. They entered the occupied territories at Tulkarm, December 13.

The group of 19 men and women are marching to protest the proliferation of nuclear weapons and are calling for disarmament.

The Bethlehem Peace Pilgrimage will march to Nablus, Beit Iba, Sinjil and Ramallah, holding two evening programmes in Jerusalem before concluding their trip at Christmas prayers in the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, December 25.

The 19-member pilgrimage group is an ecumenical group of women and men, aged 20 to 67. Janet Farnam, one of the marchers, told *Al Fajr*: "We are concerned about listening to the people of Palestine talk about peace. We do not want to tell the Palestinians what they must do to achieve peace in the world."

The group set out from the Trident nuclear submarines base at Bangor, which they call "home of the deadliest weapons system in the world," in the spring of last year. They crossed the US in seven months, holding programmes, vigils and rallies at churches, military installations and government centres. They then flew to West Europe and marched down to Greece and Cyprus before sailing to Haifa.

They have a permit from the Israeli authorities to walk in Israel and the occupied territories, the group says.

continued from page 2

Tripoli Evacuation

the vessels, which will fly the United Nations flag, until they received assurances from the four nations contributing troops to the multinational forces in Beirut that they would be allowed in and out unmolested. An Italian ship will enter Tripoli the same day to take out over 100 wounded Palestinian fighters.

Earlier the evacuation had been postponed after Israeli ships blockaded the coast of Tripoli and attacked Palestinian positions in the area, December 9. Palestinian heavy artillery scored a direct hit on one of the Israeli gunboats and aborted several attempts to land troops on the coast, Palestine News Agency, WAFA, reports quoted here said.

In the fourth attack since the blockade of the Tripoli coastline five days ago, Israeli ships shelled the coast around Tripoli, December 13, WAFA said. Palestinian coastal artillery scored a direct hit on an Israeli boat and set it ablaze, WAFA reported. The Haifa-based *Al Ittihad* newspaper said that Palestinian guns of the forces loyal to PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and the opposition forces of Abu Musa worked jointly in repelling the Israeli raid.

The newspaper, which quoted Lebanese radio reports, said that Israeli warships began shelling Palestinian positions and residential areas in al-Bahsas neighbourhood in Tripoli, at around 4:15 am. Fire was returned from the Palestinian side, and the clash continued for nearly two hours. An Israeli military spokesperson acknowledged that Palestinian artillery and rocket launchers returned fire but claimed there were no casualties.

The Israeli naval attack and blockade began at 3:00 am, December 9. Five gunboats and a number of helicopters approached the coast and tried to land troops, which were protected by heavy artillery fire from a battleship anchored about 15 kilometres off the Tripoli shore.

A Palestinian military spokesperson said that Palestinian artillery drove the attackers back to sea. The spokesperson later said that the Israeli Navy was attacking a military base north of Tripoli. He added that Israeli planes flew reconnaissance flights over northern Lebanon.

In the aftermath of the attack, Palestinian troops, who on the previous day were preparing to depart the city, reinforced positions and got ready to counter any new attacks.

The Israeli Navy opened fire for the second time the next morning, and a second attempt was made to land troops on the coast.

In a communique issued in Tripoli, a Palestinian military spokesperson said that rocket and artillery fire repelled the attackers.

The Israeli Navy blockade coupled with threats from high-ranking Israeli officials compelled the Palestinian leadership to shelve plans to leave Tripoli. PLO representative in Saudi Arabia Rafiq Natshe said Palestinian forces will not depart Tripoli until they are certain that they won't be attacked by Israeli warships. Natshe, who was speaking to the Saudi daily *Al Riyad*, went on to say that Israel blockaded Tripoli in order to abort the evacuation agreement and efforts to solve the internal Palestinian crisis.

continued from page 1

Girl Shot

publications were confiscated.

The raid occurred on the third and final day of the exhibit, shortly after 3:00 pm. Soldiers destroyed many of the exhibited pictures and some of the union's furniture, eyewitnesses said. They also reported that soldiers broke desk drawers in the union office and confiscated some of its belongings. They also detained 11 people, mostly high school students who were visiting the exhibit.

Nihad Dibi'i, the only female student at the exhibit, was taken to Nablus detention centre. The boys were taken to Fara'a punitive detention camp, near Jenin.

As soldiers were smashing exhibits, local people stoned them from outside the building, according to Israeli reports. It was during these widening battles that settlers shot and killed Aisheh Bahash and wounded her younger sister, Fida'.

Ghassan Bishara adds: Allen Romberg, US State Department spokesperson, expressed the administration's regret over the shooting of Aisheh Bahash at the hands of Israeli settlers. He read a prepared statement expressing hope that "the appropriate authorities will conduct a thorough investigation of the incident and that both sides will take steps to improve the atmosphere." He added that the US government regrets this "tragic event and the context of tension and confrontation surrounding it."

continued from page 1

Husan Bomb

five booby-trapped grenades were professionally placed.

After the bombs at religious sites were discovered, an Israeli telephoned the Israeli Army Radio station and said TNT was responsible for the attempted bombings. The same group claimed responsibility for the car-bomb assassination attempts against three West Bank mayors, in 1980, the bombing of the offices of *Al Fajr* Arabic daily, the same year, and the killing of Peace Now demonstrator, Emile Greenzweig, last year.

A bomb was found, December 11, in front of the principal's office at the Dura Secondary School for Boys, in the Hebron district. The bomb was safely detonated but caused slight damage to school windows.

There was a bomb scare on Salah al-Din Street, East Jerusalem, on the evening of December 10, after a loud bang was heard. Investigations found the explosion was caused by a fire cracker, however.

Israeli commentators ascribed all the recent attacks to Israeli anti-Arab terror groups. Some suggested the group may be aiming at non-Jews as a whole, citing the attacks on foreign monasteries.

In an interview with Israel Radio, December 14, Israeli Interior and Police Minister Yosef Burg refused to accept assertions that Jewish groups were behind the recent spate of anti-Arab attacks. "Until we catch them we cannot say if they are really Jewish, if they are a group," he said. Burg said that police are investigating the possibility that Arab bombers were behind the attacks.

Reserve General Matityahu Peled accused the authorities, December 14, of "not doing anything" to apprehend people who attack Palestinians.

WEEKLY REVIEW

December 7, 1983

WEST BANKERS BARRED FROM TRAVELLING TO JORDAN

TEL AVIV — Israel Radio said West Bank residents have been forbidden to travel to Jordan after the Egged bus explosion in Jerusalem last Tuesday. This ban does not apply to Gazans. Four people were killed in the bus explosion and more than 40 wounded. Ten out of the 28 victims of the explosion still undergoing treatment are in criticial condition. Four Palestinians arrested following the explosion are still in an Israeli jail.

ISRAELI EXPANSION PLANNED IN WEST BANK

TEL AVIV — The Israeli regional planning committee has approved a plan to expand Israeli presence in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. The plan suggests that the number of settlers in the occupied territories will increase to 125,000 by the year 2010.

JALAZON COMPLAINS OF SETTLERS

JERUSALEM — Jalazon camp residents are complaining that settlers have been joining the Israeli Army in surrounding the camp at night, imposing curfews and shooting at the residents for almost three weeks.

26,000 DUNUMS OF FOREST

JERUSALEM — The Jewish National Fund organisation announced that 26,000 dunums of land surrounding Jerusalem will be afforested.

About 1350 dunums of land in the Beit Hanina area near Nebi Yacoub and Ramot have been planted.

KARP RECOMMENDATIONS IGNORED

TEL AVIV — *HaAretz* newspaper said the new Shamir government is still ignoring the recommendations by the Karp Commission on illegal settler acts against Palestinians in the occupied lands.

ISRAELI OFFICIAL WORRIED OVER JERUSALEM

TEL AVIV — Matityahu Drobless, head of the settlement department in the Jewish Agency, expressed concern over the future status of Jerusalem if West Bank Palestinians continue to move into the city. He urged immediate Israeli action to prevent the Palestinian population of occupied Jerusalem from growing.

DUDEEN EMBEZZLER?

HAIFA — *Al Hamishmar* said that former Village League head Mustafa Dudeen was asked to return IS300,000 in League funds. The fact that the money is missing was discovered after the League's books were audited on orders from the Israeli 'civil administration'.

The paper said the League has been unable to select a replacement for Dudeen, and therefore acting head, Jawdat Sawalha, will stay at his post.

tween 15 and 23 percent.

HANGING CALL

A Zionist organisation, Tselil, is petitioning the government to enforce capital punishment on Palestinians who are involved in military operations against Israel.

POOR REFUGEES RECEIVE AID

AL-BIREH — The social committee of al-A'mari Youth Club distributed winter clothes yesterday to poor families in the refugee camp. The assistance came from a special fund created for this purpose.

TULKARM MAN KIDNAPPED

TULKARM — A Tulkarm man, Imad Qa'adan, was kidnapped by unknown individuals riding in a car with Israeli license plates. A police car chased the kidnappers but did not catch them.

Fatmeh Abu Shusheh, whose house was the target of a handgrenade attack December 12, points to a door damaged as a result of the explosion. There were no injuries. A series of bombing attacks were aimed at Palestinians during the week.

December 8, 1983

MASSIVE TAX FOR RAMALLAH MERCHANT

RAMALLAH — Israeli tax officials arrested the owner of the Hassouneh store in the town and ordered him to pay IS5 million in back taxes. The storeowner was released after he paid part of the money.

BASIC FOOD PRICES UP

TEL AVIV — Prices of basic food stuffs subsidised by the government were increased be-

PALESTINIAN BUS DETAINEES FREED

TEL AVIV — The four Palestinians remaining in detention from among the 56 arrested following the bus explosion in Jerusalem, last Tuesday, were released, Israel Radio said.

90 PEOPLE REUNITED WITH FAMILIES

HEBRON — Ninety diaspora Palestinians from the Hebron area were given family reunions.

ATTEMPTS TO PRAY AT MOSQUE

TEL AVIV — *HaAretz* said dozens of settlers tried to break into al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem and burn candles. The paper said the police interfered to stop them from entering the building.

December 9, 1983

SIX DUNUMS GRAB IN BEIT SAHOUR

BETHLEHEM — Six dunums belonging to Iskandar Bdour from Beit Sahour were confiscated by the military government.

THREE HEBRONITES SENTENCED

HEBRON — Three men from Hebron were given jail terms ranging between 14-20 months on security charges. The three men are Ahmad Adel Mahareeq, 14 months, Ali Ziad Ajoueh, 20 months, and university student Samir Manasreh, 15 months.

JENIN MERCHANT TAXED IS1 MILLION

JENIN — A Jenin shopowner, Abu Yusef Ahwal, was ordered to pay IS1 million in taxes after a surprise raid of his store.

BUS EXPLOSION DEATH TOLL INCREASES

JERUSALEM — An Israeli girl seriously injured during the Jerusalem bus explosion, last Tuesday, died. This raises the death toll to five.

TRAVEL ALLOWED FOR SOME

TEL AVIV — Israel Radio said a ban imposed on travel to Jordan for all West Bank residents following the bus explosion has been lifted for Palestinians above 35 years of age. The ban is still in effect for all East Jerusalem Palestinians.

MILITARY REJECTS JERUSALEM PLEA

TEL AVIV — *HaAretz* newspaper said the Israeli central region commander, General Amnon Livkin, rejected an appeal by Jerusalem's City Council that the army intervene to evacuate settlers at Birkat Avraham Yeshiva from the Muslim Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem.

The city's deputy mayor for Arab affairs said the only way left to evacuate the troublemakers is by not renewing their lease on the building.

December 10, 1983

DUTCH SUPPORT UNIONIST

AMSTERDAM — A Dutch human rights group appealed to Israel's premier, defence minister and the military government in the West Bank to lift the town arrest order against the secretary of the West Bank Lawyers Union, Jamil Nasser. Nasser was put under town arrest 10 months ago.

GAZA FARMERS IN TROUBLE

GAZA — Citrus growers in Gaza are facing grave financial difficulties this season, they announced today. They report continued decline in citrus prices, that 25 percent of their trees have been cut down and repeated tax hikes.

MARINES USE CLUSTER BOMBS

BEIRUT — The Lebanese paper

Al Safir said US Marines used cluster bombs during their recent clashes with Lebanese nationalists in Beirut. The paper printed a picture of a piece of cluster bomb shrapnel it said was taken from the leg of a Shi'ite fighter.

A Marine spokesperson confirmed that his forces possess cluster bombs but denied knowledge of whether they were used or not.

CHILDREN KILLED AT PLAY

JERUSALEM — Two Palestinian youths were killed in Jericho when an old bomb they found in a yard they were playing in exploded. The two victims, aged 13 and 14, where playing in a yard used for Israeli Army exercises.

December 11, 1983

BOMB IN HEBRON AREA SCHOOL

A bomb was found in front of the principal's office at the Dura Secondary School for Boys. Police were summoned to the scene and detonated the device, shattering school's windows.

SMALL RAISES FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

TEL AVIV — The Israeli finance and defence departments agreed to increase salaries of West Bank government employees by 15 percent.

ELEVEN SIGN PERMIT

NABLUS - Eleven teachers at Najah University in Nablus signed the military's controversial work permit in its revised form in order to stay in the West Bank. The work permit applies only to instructors carrying foreign passports.

FINED FOR STONES

JENIN — Six youths from Jenin were fined IS15,000-30,000 on charges of throwing stones at Israeli vehicles.

Unknown arsonists set fire to Abdallah Hirbawi's oriental souvenir shop in the Christian Quarter of the Old City, December 12. The fire gutted the store. Losses were estimated at IS2 million./AO photo

Works representative of both traditional Palestinian folk art and more contemporary themes were exhibited this week at an Ibrahimiya College art festival. /AO photo

December 12, 1983

FRANCE AND THE PLO

AMMAN — The Jordanian *Sawt al-Sha'ab* newspaper said the French government intends to recognise the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

Quoting Palestinian sources, the paper said Yasir Arafat will visit France in the near future and meet the French president. This meeting, the paper said, will set the stage for French recognition of the PLO.

Meanwhile, the PLO representative in Paris, Ibrahim Sus, said it is too early to talk about Arafat's visit to France when he is still under siege in Tripoli. Sus did not deny, or confirm the report in the Jordanian paper.

COURT POSTPONES PRIEST CASE

HAIFA — The Haifa District Court postponed for 30 days hearings on an appeal by Fawzi Khoury, a priest from Fasouta. The priest asked the court to return his passport so he can return to France to resume his doctoral studies.

MUNICIPAL TAXES INCREASE

JERUSALEM — The Israeli-run Jerusalem City Council approved a 300 percent increase in municipal taxes for the new year.

December 13, 1983

BOMB SCARE AT AL FAJR

JERUSALEM - *Al Fajr* Arabic daily newspaper premises were evacuated after the police received a telephone call from an unidentified person saying there was a time bomb in the building. The premises were thoroughly searched, but no bomb was found.

RED CROSS WANTS EXPLANATION ON POW'S

GENEVA — The International Committee of the Red Cross asked Israel to explain why several Palestinian prisoners who were listed for release in the November 24 prisoner exchange with the PLO were not freed. A statement issued by the Red Cross yesterday said it expects Israel to keep its part of the agreement and release the prisoners.

Israel announced it will not release Ziad Abu Ain, one of the prisoners on the PLO list, earlier in the week.

ISRAELIS PROTEST COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT

TEL AVIV — The Israeli Committee in Solidarity with Bir Zeit University protested the Israeli military's collective punishment of Palestinians in the occupied territories. They said demolishing or sealing homes because armed men lived in them is unacceptable.

continued from page 7

Jaffa 'Coexistence'

Going back to the Israeli-inhabited buildings, Abu al-Abed indicated that the plot of land on which the buildings stand, about 20 dunums, belonged to the Coptic community which was strong in Jaffa before 1948. According to Arab residents, the Coptic Patriarchy in Jerusalem leased or sold the plot to the Israeli company in the 1960s for it to build public housing. The Coptic Patriarch could not be reached for comment.

There is a Coptic monastery about 200 metres from the new-old quarter. It has been deserted since 1948, ever since the mass flight of Jaffa Palestinians.

According to Mustafa Seif, the Tel Aviv municipality, which also governs Jaffa, promised at the height of the 1977 election campaign to let the Arab residents of Jaffa who suffer an enormous housing crisis to move into vacant apartments on the Copts' land. "But," Seif said, "the promise proved to be a lie, like those made in every election."

Relations between Israelis and Palestinians who live in the same quarters or in close proximity are marked by covert or overt tension. 'Normal' neighbourly relations are the exception rather than the rule.

Abu al-Abed told *Al Fajr* that last year there was a "dangerous deterioration" in relations with his Israeli neighbours.

The story began when his children went to play in the Israeli children's playground and got into a fight with the Israeli children, who tried to stop them playing there. After the children's fight, Israeli parents and their neighbours started shooting at the Arab houses.

His 20-year-old son added, "All the things we urgently need — not just playgrounds for the children but mainly apartments, like those in front of our eyes — we can't get. This is very painful!"

Since the beginning of the 1970s there has been a programme of destroying Arab houses in al-Ajame quarter, the biggest and sole remaining purely-Arab area in Jaffa. The Israeli authorities embarked on this step, according to their press, in order to build a villa-area on the seashore.

The Palestinian families were evacuated from their houses on the grounds they were unfit for habitation. They were moved east of Jaffa city into Arab houses deserted since 1948 and formerly inhabited by Jewish immigrants. The new Israelis were moved out into better housing as soon as it became available. In the last three years, a limited number of families have succeeded in purchasing or renting apartments in Israeli parts of town. The Jaffa Palestinian community's housing problem springs from "desruction with no construction," in the words of one resident. Fakhri Jdai, a member of the Jaffa Arab League, explained that people whose houses are destroyed are not given enough compensation to buy new ones. He added that in 1975 the Tel Aviv municipality promised to build 750 apartments for Arabs, but nothing was done.

A survey which was conducted on the Arab housing conditions by a Kenesset committee in 1981, at the request and "as a result of the struggle of the Jaffa Arab League," Jdai said, concluded that there is a 1500-residence shortfall. "But in fact," said George Qorra, a lawyer and member of the Jaffa League, "not even five percent was implemented."

In 1972 the Israeli authorities started a construction project for the Palestinians evicted from an old Arab quarter. The 42-apartment neighbourhood, which was completed 10 years ago, has been empty ever since. Two hundred families who registered for the project are still waiting. Mustafa Seif says the Israelis claim they found out that the land on which they built the apartments belongs to a woman who lives in the US. "This is ridiculous," he commented. "They have never taken into consideration landowners who are still in their homeland when they want to set up a project for their own."

The fighting spirit remains. "We will never despair. We will continue to expose their racist policy towards us," he concludes.

Six Homes Lost in Punitive Demolitions

The homes of three Hebron and Ramallah families were demolished and three others were sealed in a nighttime punishment operation, December 11, by Israeli military authorities against the families of youths arrested on suspicion of stabbing a settler last June.

Military jeeps loaded with soldiers and security forces surrounded the houses, located in Wadi Heria, on the road to Fahas, and the rest at the quarters — Qaytoun, Ain Qurneh and Jebel Joher, in the Hebron area, and the Khalayleh quarter in Jeeb, near Ramallah — and gave the families one hour to vacate. Bulldozers were used to destroy three homes and three others were sealed by cement and blocks. One month ago, Israeli authorities arrested Kayed Rajab Sarsour, 25, Ibrahim Mohammed Serail, 25, Taha Ramadan Dweik, 18, Fayez Mahmoud Gheith, 30, Noah Mahmoud Ashour Abu Sneineh, 18, and Tayseer Mahmoud Sha'aban, 22, and accused them of participating in the stabbing of settler Aharon Gross, a US citizen, in the town's centre. The houses of Rajab Mahmoud Sarsour, 70, who supports a family of 10, and Mohammed Serail, 75, were totally destroyed. Both houses were two-storey stone structures. Nabil Mahmoud Sha'aban, brother of Tayseer, lost his three-room house.

Hebron family on the ruins of their home, demolished by Israeli military authorities December 11./AO photo

A two-room house belonging to Ramadan Dweik and the five-room family home of Mahmoud Mohammed Abu Sneineh were sealed shut. Mahmoud Gheith, 70, also lost his four-room house in the sealing, even though his son, Fayez, was released three weeks ago for lack of evidence. Youths whose homes were bulldozed had been accused of direct involvement in the stabbing. There were no eyewitnesses to the murder. The incident was followed by a rampage by settlers in Hebron, who set fire to the central market. One month later three Hebron University students were killed and 80 wounded in a grenade attack on campus believed by most observers to have been perpetrated by militant settlers. A wave of confiscation of Hebron property and settlement expansion has followed. The Hebron municipality was dismissed and an Israeli mayor installed since the summer attacks.

Terror Group Burns Thowri Cars

Israeli vigilantes from the 'Terror Against Terror' group torched six Palestinian cars in al-Thowri, southeast of Jerusalem, December 9, in the latest incident in a two-week spate of anti-Arab vandalism. Three of the six vehicles were totally destroyed. TNT claimed responsibility in a call to *The Washington Post* and Israel Army Radio, December 11.

The cars were set alight shortly after 4:30 am, locals say. The vehicles were parked in a row along the main street. Two pick-up trucks at the front of the line and a hatch-back Peugot parked at the end had their engines and front-ends totally destroyed. The remaining three cars were partially damaged. None of the car owners had insurance covering such incidents. Police found empty gasoline cans in the vicinity of the attacks.

Fadwa Iseed, wife of Sami Iseed, one of the car owners, said she heard noises from a public stairway next to her house which connects al-Thowri to the Israeli settlement neighbourhood of Abu Tur, she said. She heard men in Hebrew telling each other to hurry up. At first, she said, she thought that they were soldiers on patrol. Minutes later, she saw flames rising from the cars parked in front of the house. She woke her husband, who rushed down and tried to extinguish the blaze. Sami Iseed said that by the time he got downstairs, the vigilantes had fled.

Residents charge that the municipal fire brigade took more than 45 minutes to arrive, maximising the damage. Radwan Abu Rmeileh, whose car was one of those totally destroyed, said that residents put out most of the flames using hoses and buckets of water before the fire brigade arrived.

Residents expressed irritation at the nature of the police questioning about suspects. One resident said, "They tried to make it look like an ordinary criminal act, when it is clearly a planned act of sabotage. Even if one of the six car owners had an enemy, why would this person burn six cars?"

Al-Thowri residents also complained that Israeli soldiers who arrived after the police were more interested in graffiti daubed on walls than the burning.

Residents report that the previous day a group of more than 15 Israelis, some armed, wandered around the neighbourhood. One elderly woman, known locally a Um Hassan Shweiki, said they told her they were from the census department. Residents suspect this group was responsible for the attack and were staking out targets before striking.

Sami Iseed said locals fear their property and lives are no longer safe. Another car owner, who did not want his name published, said that "unless the saboteurs are arrested we will continue to feel that the authorities are covering up for them."

"The Israeli Army and police make every effort to arrest Palestinian stone-throwers, and youths who write graffiti," he said, "but no Israeli vigilante has been arrested."

Two months ago, unidentified people slashed the tyres of a number of cars in al-Thowri and the nearby village of Silwan.

The al-Thowri youth club denounced the arson of the six cars. The club statement said that the arson was "part of a campaign against the Palestinian people and includes the attacks by Israeli ships on PLO forces in Tripoli, the killing of a Nablus child and widespread curfews."

Al Fajr **Poll:**

Arafat No.1

A poll of readers conducted by *Al Fajr* Arabic daily newspaper showed continued support for PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and substantial opposition to the idea of a government-in-exile. The poll returned by 1111 readers in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was distributed in the form of a front-page questionnaire, November 25 and 29.

According to poll organisers, many respondents signed the questionnaire.

The results of the poll were as follows:

Question 1:	Do you support the continuation of Arafat as the head of the Executive Committee of the PLO?		
	Yes	1,068	96.13 percent
	No	43	3.87 percent
Question 2:	Do you support the continuation of Arafat's political line?		
	Yes	952	85.69 percent
	No	159	14.31 percent
Question 3:	Do you support the formation of a Palestinian government-in-exile?		
	Yes	274	24.66 percent
	No	801	72.00 percent
	No Answer	36	3.24 percent

US, France Targetted in Kuwait Bombings

Five people were killed and 65 injured after bombs exploded at six US and French sites in Kuwait, early December 12. More deaths were averted when five vehicles loaded with explosives were discovered and defused.

In the largest blast, a truck loaded with explosives bypassed an iron barrier at the entrance to the US Embassy and continued 50 metres into the compound before exploding. Four were killed and 14 injured in the blast, which collapsed the embassy's front wall.

A second vehicle parked near the French Embassy exploded and wounded two persons. Other blasts occurred near the control tower in Kuwait International Airport, in a building occupied by US nationals and other buildings belonging to the Kuwait electricity and water companies. A vehicle also exploded near Kuwait's immigration and passport office.

The home of the British commercial advisor, Arthur Marshal, located 200 metres away from the American Embassy, was reported to be slightly damaged.

A Muslim fundamentalist group called "Al-Jihad al-Islami" phoned the *Agence France Presse* office in Beirut and claimed responsibility for the explosions.

The same organisation claimed responsibility for the explosions at the US and French multinational forces headquarters in Beirut, last October, in which 240 US Marines and 58 French soldiers were killed. Sixty-two Israelis and Lebanese were killed in a similar explosion at the Israeli military headquarters in Tyre, November 4.

Rapid contacts were conducted between Arab Gulf princes, and the Kuwaiti cabinet convened in an emergency session to discuss the implications of the explosions.

The Kuwaiti government spokesperson told reporters that several persons were remanded on suspicion of involvement in the explosions. Arab nationals were forbidden exit from Kuwait for 24 hours after the blast. Armed guards were posted at foreign delegations.

US Secretary of State George Shultz said, on his departure from Rabat, Morocco, after an official visit, that the Kuwait bombings show the difficulties involved in trying to maintain "peace and order in the region."

The bomb attacks were also condemned by the French Foreign Ministry.

In Tripoli, northern Lebanon, the official PLO spokesperson, Ahmad Abd al-Rahman, denied that the PLO had anything to do with the explosions. The Palestinian spokesperson was responding to press statements by Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens blaming the PLO for the attacks.